ROYAL
HISTORICAL
SOCIETY

REFERENCE ONLY

63 Periodicals
Royal
Reference Only

SHL
WITHDRAWN

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON
LIBRARY

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/royal-historical-society-london-england-transactions_1957_7

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Society, AS A BODY, *is not responsible for the opinions advanced in the following pages.*

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Fourth Series

VOLUME XIX

LONDON
OFFICES OF THE SOCIETY
22 RUSSELL SQUARE, W.C.1
1936

SHL
WITHDRAWN

40389

BIBL.
LONDIN.
UNIV.

Made and Printed in Great Britain by Butler & Tanner Ltd., Frome and London

CONTENTS

PAGE

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS. By Professor F. M. Powicke, *M.A., Litt.D., LL.D., F.B.A.* 1

ENGLISH LEARNING IN THE LATE TWELFTH CENTURY. By R. W. Hunt, *M.A.* 19

THE NATURE AND USE OF THE WESTMINSTER ABBEY MUNIMENTS. By L. E. Tanner, *M.V.O., M.A., F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S.* 43

THE KING'S SECRETARY IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY. By Miss J. Otway-Ruthven, *B.A.* 81

ENGLISH STUDENTS AT PADUA, 1460–75. By Miss R. J. Mitchell, *M.A., B.Litt.* 101

SOME PROPOSED LEGISLATION OF HENRY VIII. By Professor T. F. T. Plucknett, *M.A., LL.B., F.R.Hist.S.* . . . 119

THE HOLLES FAMILY. By A. C. Wood, *M.A., B.Litt., D.Phil., F.R.Hist.S.* 145

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS AND ELECTIONEERING IN 1685. By Professor R. H. George, *A.M., Ph.D., F.R.Hist.S.* . 167

INDEX 197

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL 211

LIST OF FELLOWS 232

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS 267

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Delivered 13 *February*, 1936

By Professor F. M. Powicke, M.A., Litt.D., LL.D., F.B.A.

Reflections on the medieval State

The literature about the medieval state is enormous. Many very distinguished scholars, especially in Germany, have given their ripest thought to the problems which the word "state" suggests when it is applied to medieval society. In recent years several manful efforts have been made to extricate the subject from the trammels of law and philosophy. In Germany, for example, Georg von Below, Fritz Kern and, latest of all, Heinrich Mitteis,[1] have, each in his own way, tried to deal with it as earlier writers, like Waitz, Ranke and Ficker, dealt with it. They have approached it from a political or social or economic point of view, and have made themselves independent, so far as they could, of the categories of the jurists and the generalisations suggested by a study of medieval political thought. Even these exceptional men have not found it easy to avoid categories of their own. If we concern ourselves with something more than a description of institutions, we cannot

[1] G. von Below, *Der deutsche Staat des Mittelalters*, vol. i (Leipzig, 1914); F. Kern, *Gottesguadentum und Widerstandsrecht im früheren Mittelalter* (Leipzig, 1915); H. Mitteis, *Lehurecht und Staatsgewalt* (Weimar, 1933).

disregard legal and political ideas, yet it requires more insight and ability than most historians possess to treat the impressive law books and political treatises as raw material, which has no greater claim upon our allegiance than a charter or a chronicle. We in England have so far had only one great scholar of whom it would be hard to say whether he was greatest as historian, lawyer or philosophical thinker. This was Maitland. No wonder, therefore, that the ordinary man feels uncomfortable when he is asked to take account of legal and political ideas by people who are neither lawyers nor philosophers. He prefers to pick the brains of the lawyers and philosophers who have condescended to write legal and philosophical history with due regard to the history which he does understand ; and, indeed, he has been well served. Brunner in Germany, Maitland himself in England, Olivier Martin in France are, for example, great and good guides to the political historian, and if the political historian wishes to pillage the rich storehouse of medieval speculation, other good guides are about him everywhere.

At the same time, I feel—and I should be surprised if others did not feel—that by co-operation of this kind, political, legal and philosophical historians will never succeed in explaining the medieval state. The impressive treatises may satisfy the mind, but they do not help us much to see the medieval state. We continue to repeat generalisations about what we think we see which bear little relation to what we know for ourselves. " All medieval law was supposed to be custom " ; " the medieval state was not a national state " ; " the division between the clerk and the layman was fundamental " ; " the feudal system was based on a series of private contracts." " There was no conception of sovereignty in the Middle Ages." Do we really know these things ? Are they as a lamp to our feet as we try to pick our way along our own chosen tracks ? I doubt it.

We are often content to draw the conclusion that, as we are not polymaths, and do not wish to be humbugs, the

safest course is to leave this problem to settle itself. There are two objections to this prudent attitude. In the first place, we cannot as reflective beings altogether disregard the wider issues raised by our studies. In the second place, we have to distinguish between what is possible for us and what should be possible for our successors. For example, we now all agree, I imagine, that, unless the divorce between linguistic and historical studies is ended, work on medieval history may well come to a standstill. The student of pre-Norman English history has learned to face philological problems ; and the political historian of the future will have to take an equally intelligent part in the use and criticism of medieval texts which most of us now either disregard or study timidly at second hand. The same is true of legal and speculative literature. Our successors will be safe and able to stand on firm ground just in so far as they are able to use this literature without being frightened by it, or distracted by it, so long as they can follow the lead of the expert without the suspicion which is born of incomplete understanding. The distrust of legal categories and abstract ideas is good if it is the deliberate and clear-headed result of an informed comparison between established facts and contemporary or modern theory ; it is not good, if it is the result of ignorance. Whatever we may mean by the state, we do mean that it is a condition only possible to intelligent beings who possess a faculty which we call the power of choice. If man were nothing but a creature of instinct, the " state " would endure unchanged in historic time, like the organisation of the ant or the bee. However intricate it might be, it would have reached a stage of arrested development and could have no history. But intelligent and self-directing beings respond, within the environment possible for existence in historic time, to the changes in circumstances and the movements of thought which their own energy has helped to create. There is constant interplay between creation and response in political as in every other kind of human development. Hence, in

dealing with that development, we have to take account of abstract ideas, and, as a matter of fact, however sceptical we may be, however anxious to confine our attention to what we honestly know, we use abstract terms at every step. Take two sentences from two of our best scholars, men whose concrete attitude to history is beyond dispute and is sometimes even aggressively expressed. " Those private charters of the twelfth century in which the characteristics of Anglo-Norman feudalism find their most authentic expression " [1]; " the evolution of civilised government is reflected in the history of the charter, which is the vehicle of the King's will and pleasure." [2] In order to understand these sentences we must attach clear meanings to the abstractions : private, feudalism, authentic, evolution, civilised, government, to say nothing of characteristic, expression, reflected, vehicle, etc. And both writers wish to emphasise the changes resulting from interplay of thought and circumstance. The one speaks of the evolution of a new order from the ancient simplicity of social relations. The other refers to the development of a variety of forms in accordance with the new uses to which the charter was put. Their language is steeped in Aristotelianism and Darwinism. They are making their contributions to the history of that abstraction, the medieval state. At the same time, there is all the difference in the world between the attitude of these scholars, commenting on definite bits of parchment, and the attitude of men who insist on interpreting the Middle Ages from such an acquaintance with glossators, theologians and publicists as can be derived from their systematic exposition in modern treatises. I am urging here that the political historian, if he really wishes to understand the development of the state, can no more afford to neglect the glossators and the publicists than he can afford to neglect the charter, the

[1] F. M. Stenton, *The First Century of English Feudalism* (Oxford, 1932), p. 6.

[2] V. H. Galbraith, " The Literacy of the Medieval English Kings," from *The Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. xxi, being the Raleigh Lecture, 1935, p. 18.

plea roll and the chronicle; but I am also urging that he must use them in the same spirit of critical detachment. If we deal, as we must, with the interplay of facts and reflection, we can set no arbitrary limits to the range of our inquiry; but, on the other hand, we must treat all the material alike. The more a historical theme is concerned with abstractions, the more incumbent is it upon the historian to realise that history depends upon direct and sensitive observation. He must avoid the "unsubstantial day-dreams, inspired evasions of the real problems," which tempt him, just as they beset the poet and the artist.

When we speak of the medieval state we do not intend to use a technical term, but we do imply more than a complex of institutions. We think vaguely of organised public life, of the relations between men which enabled them to discuss, plead and act together in councils, law courts, armies and business. Although we find associations of this kind in every stage of development, and though what nowadays we describe as functions of the state can be performed by primitive groups of men, the word "state" does suggest to us something self-conscious and sophisticated. One word for the public community in the Middle Ages was *civilitas*, and we associate the state with civilisation. Now, if we are considering groups of this kind, we must allow the men who inherited and elaborated them the capacity to be influenced in their normal daily life by abstractions. They will not necessarily use big words of Greek and Latin origin, but there will generally be some relation between their thinking and talking and the speech of the clerks who do use abstract terms to express contemporary ideas. Take, for example, the word *utilitas*. It is true that this word is found in Frankish charters merely as part of the pompous and redundant vocabulary in which the clerks delighted. It occurs frequently in the sense of "worthiness" in the formula "Noverit itaque sagacitas et utilitas fidelium nostrorum." But it also frequently occurs in such phrases as "utilitas regis" and "utilitas regni," to signify the purpose

of public policy. When a king and his counsellors are considering affairs with a view to the well-being of the kingdom, they have got a long way from the predatory instincts of the war-band and the conception of kingship to be found even in the noble poem *Beowulf*, where the king is " the giver of treasure." We have no right to assume that the phrase, Roman, abstract, clerical though it is, did not reflect some regard for the general well-being in the minds of those whose decisions are described. We have here the expression of a simple conception of statesmanship in a rudimentary state. Again, if we turn to a much more sophisticated period in the Middle Ages, the reign of Philip the Fair of France (*c.* 1300), we can see, in the discussions of the royal court, a precocious familiarity with the subtleties of political speculation. It seems to me quite impossible to suppose that contemporary political pamphlets, which sought to justify the king in his quarrel with the pope, did not repeat, in a more systematic form, the arguments used during the debates in the king's council. The men who took the lead were knights as well as clerks, lawyers rather than theologians. They emphasised the duty of the laity in times of stress ; their Latin and their French were easily convertible into terms of each other. If this be so, then the lords and knights about Philip the Fair were familiar with a conception of *utilitas* which carries us very far in the theory of statecraft. They could express or at least appreciate the expression of public utility in terms of *necessitas*, and by necessity they meant more than the public need. They meant the right and duty of the king and his agents, indeed of the ordinary man, to override positive law in the common interests for which they were responsible. The word " necessity " had had a long history in ecclesiastical literature. Pope Gregory VII had asserted that the pope in case of necessity could make new laws. A century later we find, applied to policy, the phrase " necessity knows no law." Innocent III speaks of " necessitas regni." The law of the Church admitted the duty of clerks to come to the

aid of the lay power in case of necessity. St. Thomas Aquinas developed a theory of necessity. He argued that, in certain circumstances, necessity knows no law; also that a tyrant can be removed on the ground of necessity; and he justified this view by an appeal to Aristotle's discussion of "epieikeia" or equity, when he says that gaps in the law must be filled from the standpoint of equity. In the meantime the argument had been taken up by the civilians who expounded the case of the Emperor Frederick II. The emperor must maintain the integrity of his charge. He could not allow himself to be crushed at the expense of the general well-being. The call of necessity was a call of nature. The legists of Philip the Fair gave a more positive direction to the argument. Necessity, in their mind, was more than a sanction of self-protection; it was a call to assert the power of the king, over and above the limits set by custom and tradition, in the interests of his kingdom and of the Christian community of which his kingdom was a responsible part. It proclaimed that the king, in the interests of natural law, was above positive law; he could revoke old laws and supply their defects by new laws. He was responsible, in all matters affecting his and his kingdom's well-being, to no other power, and at the call of necessity could exert his authority to maintain the spiritual power against the head of the Church itself, to oppose the Church in the interests of the Church.[1] The next step was to identify the natural law of necessity with the natural impulses of a political community, its rights to natural frontiers and self-assertion, or even to identify necessity not with natural law but with the dictates of history. In their frontier policy, the French kings from Philip the Fair to Louis XIV seem often to be hovering on the edge of asser-

[1] The appeal to necessity in medieval political literature has received much attention in recent years, especially from German writers. Richard Scholz emphasised its significance in his treatise, *Die Publizistik zur Zeit Philipps des Schönen und Bonifaz VIII* (Stuttgart, 1903), e.g., pp. 365, 369. For later discussion see a useful collection of references in H. Wieruszowski, *Vom Imperium zum nationalen Königtum* (Munich, 1933), *passim*.

tions of this kind in the course of their elaborate legal arguments and the practice of their elaborate legal devices.

To-day I am concerned, not with these anticipations of the modern state, but with the way in which medieval political groups, as they grew in complexity and in the capacity for orderly and self-directed expression, were compelled to think and to think abstractly. We cannot define the medieval state in terms of political categories ; we can only describe it or suggest descriptions of it in its varied and elusive development ; and, if we try to do this, we cannot afford to separate legal and political thought from the humanity about it and set it on one side as irrelevant or remote, for, however abstract it might become, it was essentially an expression of contemporary life. In its turn, it must be used, though not slavishly interpreted, to illustrate the development of what is often called a " political sense " in the men who had counsel with kings, devised the constitutions of city-republics, sat in judgement, transacted local affairs or attended parliaments. These men had brains as well as experience, and they were not dumb. They did not continue in the indulgence of their savage appetites until civilisation came to them like manna in the wilderness. They gradually civilised themselves ; in becoming civilised they neither consciously adjusted themselves to some type of civilisation nor shut their ears to the guidance which clerks and lawyers were ready to give to them out of their stores of experience and learning. They did not say, on the one hand, " We insist on being civilised," nor on the other, " We refuse to listen to anything that these hypocritical self-seekers and pedants say." It is easy enough to collect instances to justify the dictum that " laymen are notoriously hostile to clerks," and illustrations of perfectly useless dialectic—it would perhaps be even easier to do so in our own age—but this is not the point. If it were, the study of history would be a much simpler thing than it is.

The use of the word " state " in medieval times helps us to understand how, in an increasingly intricate network of

social and economic relations, the growth of a body-politic was directed by what may be described as moral considerations. In Greek and Latin the word meant stand or stance, as when the rhetoricians take their stand on a particular line of argument. It implies something central, fundamental, a ground or basis. Hence the word "state" could come to mean that which gives validity to a thing, and in due course validity in itself to a thing, so that it is more than fleeting or capricious. This seems to be the meaning which in medieval times survived most commonly from the multiform usages of classical Latin. When Eginhard says that Charles the Great went to Rome in the year 800 "propter reparandum . . . ecclesiae statum," he means something more, I think, than we should mean by the state of the Church. Of course, he did not mean anything concrete like the papal patrimony, but he meant more than the gentlemen do who write letters to *The Times* deploring the state of the Church of England. What exactly he, or rather Charles, meant is still a matter of controversy; many volumes have been written about it.

The word recurs incessantly in medieval documents and treatises, and there always lies in it some such implication as I have noted. The preamble or *arenga* to a Charter of Hugh Capet in the late tenth century begins: "The sublimity of our piety cannot have a due and orderly stand (*recto stare valet ordine*) unless it does justice to all and in all things and observes with intelligence (*mentaliter*) the just decrees of former kings." There is here, of course, no conscious and technical use of the verb. A king takes his stand on the thoughtful administration of justice. But usually we find the noun (*status*), either accompanied by another noun in the genitive or alone, with a more deliberate intention. So far as I have noticed, it is never used in our sense of the word, as a geographical and political entity. We can say, "the well-being of the state"; but the medieval ruler spoke of the state of the commonwealth, *status regni* or *status republicæ*. When the word is used by itself it is

charged with the significance of our word " condition," with a sense of value.

When a king maintained his " state " he did so with a due sense of moral responsibility. He did not assert a naked right to exist or to assert himself. Edward I, in replying to a clerical petition in 1280, explained that he could not answer otherwise, without completely departing from the advice of his magnates, a thing which would be in no wise profitable either for himself or the church, or for the state of the realm of England. In the next year he told the bishops that they must not presume to take council together about any matter which affected the crown or touched his person or state or the state of his council. The first passage helps to explain the significance attached to the word *status*, whether of king or of council or of kingdom. It would be detrimental, says Edward, to the state of the kingdom if decisions made by the king and his counsellors were not observed ; he himself was bound—he means, I think, morally bound—by these decisions. In other words, the maintenance of the state of the kingdom implies deliberate, orderly and effective action, action which is not arbitrary. The word " state," as contemporary thought shows, was charged with moral significance. For example, there are two kinds of perfection, personal and *secundum statum* ; a man may aim either at the perfection which comes of serenity and a clean conscience or at the perfection which is demanded of his " state," in the exercise of power and jurisdiction.[1] A really good man will aim at both, but they are not the same ; indeed, it was sometimes maintained that the standard of personal perfection to be expected of a layman was not so exacting as that to be expected of a man of spiritual state. A king had, so to speak, a duty to his own state. If this is healthy, his judgement will be healthy. " The straight (*rectum*) is judge of itself as well as of the crooked," just as a man with an undefiled palate will distinguish between

[1] Aegidius Romanus, *De ecclesiastica potestate*, lib. i., cap. 2 ; edited R. Scholz (Weimar, 1929), p. 6.

savours correctly. The thoroughgoing papalist argued that there were grades of perfection in states of this kind, and that the judgement of the higher had the right to correct the judgement of the lower ; but he did not deny that each state had its own perfection, and that its possessor had the power and the opportunity to attain it. This conception of human responsibility to whatever state a man might possess explains why the plea of necessity was not divorced from a regard for equity. The state of the realm itself, impersonal though it was, was instinct with obligation ; it was something to be maintained in accordance with principle, and was not conceivable to a barbaric mind, for the idea of it implies a capacity for abstract thought which goes much further than the instincts of shame and fidelity in which it is ultimately rooted.

The " state " in our sense of the word is possible when the ruling power has firmly established its authority over the " states " of other classes or persons, and when the range within which this power is exercised is naturally and normally expressed in territorial terms. The state of the realm comes to be the expression of corporate activity within a definite area ; but, when this happens, and the word " state " is used without any qualification, as, for example, by Machiavelli, its moral content tends to drop out. Its complexity survives : it means more than *regnum* or *civitas* ; but it loses much of its life. It is debased in quality, though it is charged with more meaning. How this happened, first I suppose in Italy, has often been discussed, but I am not concerned with the development to-day.

In the light of the discussion of *utilitas*, *necessitas*, *status*, I should like to approach one of the *clichés* or commonplaces with which we are so familiar. This discussion does seem to make it unlikely, to say the least, that law was fundamentally the expression of custom. The insistence by medievalists upon custom is in itself largely due to a conscious reaction against the Austinian conception of sovereignty as applicable to medieval society. Scholars felt, and felt rightly, that

whatever the medieval state was, it was not inspired by that hard abstraction. But the conception of the sovereign state in its stark nakedness now stirs in our minds the revulsion which we feel at the thought of the "economic man." Both historians and theorists see that its realisation, if it ever has been realised, is a perversion, and that recent attempts to embody it in practice are a calamity. Hence they are now prepared to find both that the reverence for custom is not so remote from modern political life as was implied, and that the idea of sovereignty is not so modern as was supposed. Sovereignty does not necessarily require an articulated state and regard for custom is not necessarily inconsistent with legislation. When, in one of Miss Sayers's books, an old lady protests that the law could never have allowed parliament to make a certain change in the rules of succession to property, she is not speaking as a strange survival from the medieval world, but as an ordinary indignant conservative-minded and rather foolish person of any civilised age or country. Similarly, when a medieval churchman or lawyer said, "I never thought this change could be made, but as it has been made, we must accept it as right," he was not speaking as a man born centuries before his proper time. A changing society, driven forward by new spiritual and economic opportunity, cannot exist, whether it is medieval or modern, without both a regard for custom and the recognition of an ultimate authority, which can enforce change. A political society, however crude it may be, which can appreciate the political value of conceptions like utility, necessity, and states of social activity, has reached this stage.

The reverence for custom is, indeed, one of the essential characteristics of medieval life. We have to start from it and never forget it. At the same time, it was not a religious dogma, but a very practical way of maintaining the social realities. I have already quoted a charter of Hugh Capet. Here is a passage from another: "It is the function of kings, after a sagacious survey of the laws (*iura*) of their

kingdoms, to take anxious care to cut away the harmful and to give wide effect to all that are profitable."[1] A custom might be a bad custom, and to commit it to writing was not advantageous. For example, one of the supporters of St. Thomas Becket expostulated with King Henry II for giving a longer life to evil customs by putting them into writing as the Constitutions of Clarendon. The word custom did not necessarily mean something which had ancient use. We read in the record of the great arbitration of 1258 between the archbishop, Conrad of Hochstaden, and the citizens of Cologne that "the city officials, meeting in the city hall, decree whatever they like without the archbishop's knowledge, and a statute of this kind they wish to be observed as a special custom and right (*pro speciali consuetudine et iure*) without any archiepiscopal authority." In the history of any community, at any time, custom might be challenged in the name of some higher law or maintained as in accordance with some higher consideration. In the year 1131 some Benedictine abbots of the province of Reims formed themselves into a kind of congregation. They met in chapter and agreed to enforce a stricter and simpler life than that required by the Cluniac customs under which they had been living. The papal legate, Cardinal Matthew of Albano, a strong Cluniac, tried his hardest to stop the movement. The abbots replied: "We do not profess the customs of Cluny but the law and rule of St. Benedict. Do we then destroy the customs by the rule? God forbid. We establish the customs."[2] When the English barons said that they did not wish the English law of bastardy to be changed, they were not mere reactionaries, holding to

[1] Cf. Romoald of Salerno on the work of Roger II of Sicily. After speaking of the universal establishment of justiciars and chamberlains in 1140, he continues: "[Rex Rogerius] leges a se noviter conditas promulgavit, malas consuetudines de medio abstulit" (*Annales*, ed. Arndt, in *Mon. Germ. Hist., Scriptores*, xix, 423).

[2] See Dom A. Wilmart, "Une riposte de l'ancien monachisme au manifeste de Saint Bernard," in *Revue benedictine*, April–July, 1934, pp. 299, 300. Dom Wilmart uses the texts published by U. Berlière, *Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique*, i (1894), p. 103.

custom for its own sake; they were guided, rightly or wrongly, by considerations of social expediency—were maintaining their state, shall we say?—just as Grosseteste in his denunciation of them appealed to the higher law of the Church. The truth is that our incurable habit of thinking in categories makes us slow to realise how readily medieval society responded, in its legislation, to social needs. Legislation was, from our modern standpoint, comparatively rare, not because it was distrusted, but because, in a slowly moving and more agrarian manner of life, it was less needed than it is to-day. The hard and fast distinction which we draw between administration and legislation, and between customary law and the civil law, has blurred this fact. We are apt to dismiss a great change as merely administrative, forgetting that it might fundamentally alter customary law, and so go on to deny that it was legislative. I believe, on the contrary, that the assizes of Henry II, the ordinances of St. Louis, the acts of Frederick I at Roncaglia and of Frederick II at Melfi or in the German diets, were legislative, and that the judgements in the medieval courts, at any rate in the thirteenth century, implied a practice of conscious adjustment to circumstance, an attempt to cope with new problems. The plea rolls of King John's reign in England, for example, abound in cases where suitors seek the considered opinion (*consideratio*) of the court. A man holds a tenement by servile custom. His holding is in villeinage. But he makes an arrangement by which he can render an annual payment in cash for all services and he does this for twenty years. Has his tenement become a free tenement; does an action lie against his lords for disseisin? Or again, can an action be brought against a "simple Hospitaller" acting on behalf of his prior? I pick out puzzling points like this at random; they show how the judges were suddenly called on to deal with problems of prescription and agency and the like, whose solution would help to shape the law and to define social relations. The right solution was often hard to find and was certainly not dictated by

custom alone. Martin of Pattishall, as we have recently been reminded, changed his answer to the question whether a layman could or could not bring an action under the assize *utrum*, and finally decided it in a way which Bracton deplored. Where the local custom differed, as in the cases where the rights of commoners were hard to reconcile with the tendency to agricultural development, one custom had to be preferred to another: so the famous Statute of Merton adopted the "law of Arden."[1] Outside England, we find that the civil or Roman law was frequently used as a model for new practice, or to meet unusual circumstances or to guide national custom along a coherent path. In the later twelfth century it began to affect Lombard feudal law; in the middle of the thirteenth it served as an example for the introduction of general legislation in the French monarchy. Philip Augustus had disliked it because he feared the emperor; Philip the Fair welcomed it because he felt more independent than any emperor; indeed he defines the relation between custom and the civil law with exactitude. Schools of civil law are required, he says in an ordinance in favour of the University of Orleans (1312), to encourage the principles of equity and reason which are applied in the litigation of this kingdom, "when the judgements, customs and ordinances of our forefathers and ourselves, which we regard as superior to all custom, are defective and no custom exists by which judgement can be given."[2]

Now, behind all this, we have the consciousness of a living, changing, yet continuous society, of a society which does not depend upon individual caprice, does not die, and has its own "state" and traditions. This quality in feudal society impressed the Moslem world as soon as the Latin states of Syria were established. When Jocelin of

[1] D. M. Stenton, *Rolls of the Justices in Eyre . . . for Lincolnshire, 1218–19, and Worcestershire, 1221* (Selden Society's Publications, vol. liii, London, 1934), pp. xxxii–iii, lxvii.

[2] M. Fournier, *Les statuts et privilèges des universités françaises*, vol. i, no. 27. See especially E. M. Meijers in *Tijdschrift voar rechtsgeschiedenis*, vol. i (Leiden, 1921), pp. 108 ff.

Courtenay, count of Edessa, was captured in 1122, he was offered his freedom on condition of surrendering his county. An Arab historian records his reply: "We are like laden camels; when one falls, the baggage is transferred to another; our possessions have already passed to other hands."[1] The Moslem world lacked stability because it denied custom the power to adjust itself. I cannot close this part of the discussion better than by quoting two passages from the legist, Pierre Dubois.[2] They illustrate the difference between West and East. In the first passage Dubois, referring to methods of warfare, urges his readers to deliberate with diligence and sadness of heart on the spiritual and temporal dangers which adherence to custom involves. In the second he says:

> Does not Averroes say that the Arabs have suffered greatly from their belief that laws are universally and externally binding? Was not every law made for a good and expedient end? The laws and statutes of men differ as places, times and persons differ. Many philosophers have taught that this is right, for *utilitas* obviously requires it to be so. The Lord God changed many things in the New Testament which he had decreed in the Old.

In these reflections I have tried to find a "stance" from which, as it seems to me, the various aspects of a great subject should be examined. It is from this point of view that we should regard the development and the variety of feudal custom, the relations between rulers and vassals or subjects, the maintenance of public law, the rise of corporations, the growth of parliaments, the attempts at majority-rule, the belief in divine right and in the right to resist. Instead of trying to define medieval public life as idealists sought to define it, we should examine its different expressions and try to explain the "state of the case"; and in doing this we should be prepared to realise the

[1] R. Grousset, *Histoire des croisades*, vol. i (Paris, 1934), p. 584.

[2] The passages are given from the *Summaria* and the *De recuperatione terrae sanctae* (§ 48) by Hellmut Kämpf, *Pierre Dubois* (Leipzig, 1935), p. 17, with interesting comment. He seems to me to read too much into the first passage (*Summaria*, ed. Kämpf, Leipzig, 1936, p. 2).

importance, in everyday life, of what we call abstract ideas, but what I prefer to call man's capacity to think. We should not confine the influence of religious thought to ecclesiastical circles, of legal ideas to those who practised in the courts or sat in the schools, of political conceptions to the theorists. If we do, we may find ourselves building walls in our reflections on the past which did not exist in the past itself. The problem might be summed up in a sentence as that of the education in political experience of the ordinary man, and especially, though not only, of the layman. Starting from the words spoken by Marsiglio of Padua, "the things which touch the well-being and the ill-being of all men ought to be known and heard of all," we should go on to inquire how far, in this place and that, in this time and that, they actually were known and heard. Recently, in a forcible and stimulating lecture, which I have already quoted, Mr. Galbraith has invited us to remember the layman, but he seems to imply that, so long as the layman could not read or write, his political experience was acquired in isolation, apart from the movements of thought about him—movements which, in Mr. Galbraith's view, have very little relevance to the essentially formative factors in history or even, if I understand him aright, to our conception, whatever that may be, of civilisation. Now it is true enough that the layman could not fully come to his own until public business was transacted and recorded in the vernacular; but, on the other hand, we must not minimise the importance of the vernacular as a vehicle of thought in those times when the educated man wrote in Latin, nor the extent of its use behind the screen of Latin. The fact that we have to approach the layman through this screen is one thing; whether he himself was cut off from mental intercourse with the kinsfolk and neighbours who can talk to us is a very different thing. As yet we know far too little about the individual layman and his vernacular thoughts, of the influences which played upon him in his assertiveness, as he became conscious of the validity, the duty, the opportunity which lay in his "state,"

whether he was a peasant in a manorial court or a baron debating with bishops and kings. Yet I am sure of this, that the more responsible he felt, the prouder he was of his position in life, the more determined to face the issues about him in his own way, the more use he made of the experience and thoughts of others. "The evolution of civilised government is reflected in the history of the charter." No doubt; but the charter is not the measure of civilised government. The hawk does not soar by this wisdom, and stretch her wings toward the South. The common store of proverbial wisdom and the traditional expedients of practical life cannot, when men talked together, have continually been enlarged and adjusted to changing circumstance without some give and take between the active and the contemplative, between the shrewd stay-at-home and the wanderers among the riches of space and time. In Chaucer's wealth of English speech the results of centuries of mental intercourse were precipitated. One of the most profound and enduring conceptions of the layman's place in a mysterious universe was reached, in the days of Pope Innocent III and Hubert Walter, by an obscure German knight—as he says, a bit of a poet whose poem fared without the aid of books. Yet Wolfram von Eschenbach was, in the best sense of the term, a very sophisticated person. Who of us could set bounds to the influences which stirred his imagination as he meditated on the story of Parzival?

ENGLISH LEARNING IN THE LATE TWELFTH CENTURY [1]

By R. W. Hunt, M.A.

Read 14 *May*, 1936

The title of this paper may raise false hopes in the minds of many; and it will be well to explain what has been attempted. English writers of the later twelfth century have on the whole been neglected; and when I was investigating the life and works of Alexander Nequam, it was necessary, in order to keep a sense of proportion, to try to learn something about the schools of the time, and to look at the work of some of his contemporaries. One or two things of interest have come to light, which I have tried to set out here. But the picture is far from complete. Nothing, for example, is said about legal studies.

The history of the schools in England in the twelfth century is at present very imperfectly known. The sources are incidental, stray remarks in prefaces, casual allusions in chroniclers, letters of papal judge-delegates, witnesses in charters and so on. In a number of places we know that there were schools at one time or another, but it is hard to trace any sort of continuity, which would lift them to the dignity of institutions. We are scarcely out of the period when it is the influence of some one master that makes the school famous. If he goes away the students will probably follow him; and if he dies, he may have no worthy successor. It is equally difficult to say how much

[1] I have to thank Professor F. M. Powicke for criticisms and suggestions, and also Miss E. Rathbone and Mr. R. W. Southern.

progress was realised in the course of the century. Alexander, prior of Canon's Ashby, in his tract on the art of preaching, says:

> At the time when I was a student, there were few such founts of learning. [He has just explained that these founts are masters who teach theology without exacting a fee.] There were scarcely any masters to be found whose aim was not ambitious, whose teaching was not mercenary and whose tongues were not venal. But now, by the grace of God, there are many who teach without a fee. Many are the founts of the Saviour, ever open to those wishing to draw from them. Almost every city has such a fount, at Northampton Master [here unfortunately there is a blank in the MS.], at Oxford Master Philip, at Exeter Master John and others elsewhere.[1]

These masters have not been identified.[2] There is some evidence for the schools at Northampton and Exeter, but it is fragmentary. Of Oxford and Lincoln there is a little more to be said. We know that Alexander Nequam was teaching at Oxford in the last decade of the century, and though none of his works in their present form date from this period, some of them are almost certainly based on his lectures. We know the names of two masters *theologiam Oxonie legentes*, John Grim and Simon of Gloucester (1201–3).[3] In another document, dated 1201, John Grim

[1] *De artificioso modo predicandi*, Serm. 2, Cambridge, Univ. Libr., Ii. 1, 24, s. XIII, f. 173vb–174ra: Tempus quo puer eram scolaris pauci erant in terra ista fontes tales; uix aliqui inueniebantur magistri, quorum non esset intentio ambitiosa, lectio institoria, lingua uenalis. Sed multi sunt nunc, dei gratia, qui gratis docent. Multi sunt fontes saluatoris qui omnibus haurire uolentibus semper patent. Fere unaqueque ciuitas huiusmodi fontem habet, Norhamptona magistrum . . . Oxonia magistrum Philippum, Exonia magistrum Iohannem, et sic alie alios. The first part of this tract without the sermons is in Oxford, Magdalen Coll. 168, s. SIII, f. 128v, there ascribed to magister Willelmus Ruffus. Extracts from the sermons in it are anon. in Cambridge, Trinity Coll. R. 14, 40(912), s. XIII, pp. 48a–49b, but this passage is omitted. Alexander was prior "in the reign of John," *V.C.H.* Northants, II, p. 133. He is found as papal judge-delegate at Oxford 1197–1201, *Oseney Cartulary*, ed. Salter, O.H.S., XCVII, IV. p. 62.

[2] Dr. Salter has kindly informed me that the only master Philip is the vice-archdeacon, found *c.* 1174–5, *Oseney Cartulary*, II, p. 224f.

[3] *Eynsham Cartulary*, ed. Salter, O.H.S., LI, II, pp. 45–7. They are acting as delegates of Hubert Walter.

is called *magister scolarum Oxonie.*[1] It is surely significant that we can point to two teachers of theology there at the same time.

At Lincoln there was one notable master, many of whose works have survived. When Gerald of Wales wished to resume his theological studies and was unable to go to Paris owing to the war between Richard I and Philip Augustus, he turned to Lincoln, where he knew that theology flourished in a sane and healthy manner.[2] The master was Willelmus de Montibus,[3] who had formerly taught on the Mount at Paris, and was Chancellor at Lincoln from about 1190 until his death in 1213. His works have as yet scarcely been touched. They appear to be mainly compilations. Some bear a resemblance to works of Peter the Chanter; and in the *Similitudinarius* there are pieces taken from the sermons of Alexander Nequam. They are rather elementary aids for the instruction of the clergy, alphabetical *distinctiones* and similes for the use of preachers, little works on penance and on mistakes to be avoided in the conduct of church services. It is true that he wrote *questiones*, which have not yet been recovered. But his speculative bent can hardly have been great. His main efforts were directed to driving home simple lessons, by any means possible. One of his works is a collection of glossed verses in alphabetical order.[4] The first few headings are: De primo aduentu, De utroque aduentu, Ascensio Christi, Angeli, Ascensus, Assumptio, Amor, Amicitia, Amor bonus et malus, De amicis Job, Abnegatio propriorum, Anachorita. Each significant word in the line is glossed, so that if you learnt the verse, the lesson would be remembered. It is perhaps worth adding that the distribution of the manu-

[1] Hist. MSS. Comm., *MSS. of the Duke of Rutland*, IV, p. 82. The meaning of such terms is ill-defined. Cf. Alexander Nequam, *super* Cant. Cant. VI, 20, B.M. Royal 4 D XI, f. 196vb: Theologi rectores scolarum locum istum (i.e. Cant. 8. 7) sic explanauere: Aque multe non poterunt extinguere caritatem de facili.

[2] *De gestis*, III, 3, Opp. ed. Brewer, R.S., I, p. 93.

[3] On him see G. Lacombe, *New Scholasticism*, 5, 1931, 141 f., 148–50.

[4] Cambridge, C.C.C. 186 f. 21r; London, B.M. Adds. 16164, f. 15r.

script and of the mentions of them in library catalogues suggests that his influence was mainly felt in the Midlands and the East of England. After William's death the school becomes obscure. The only successor whose work has survived is Richard Wetherset, chancellor from 1221–9 and then Archbishop of Canterbury. He wrote a manual for priests, known from its opening words as the *Qui bene presunt*, which, to judge from the number of manuscripts that have survived, had a great success in the thirteenth century; but it is an avowed compilation from the works of William.

It would be rash and probably unfair to belittle the work that was accomplished by these schools; but the coming of the Friars does seem to be the decisive turning-point. Certainly at Oxford they built up a great tradition with the help of Robert Grosseteste. It still remains to be seen, when his works have been examined and sorted out, how far he can be linked up with his Oxford predecessors.[1] Our knowledge of such men as John of London [2] and John Blund [3] is tantalisingly slight beyond the fact that they both taught at Oxford. On the scientific side there seems to be a native tradition, but as far as theology is concerned, if there is anything vital, it draws its life and inspiration from Paris. The two

[1] S. H. Thomson thinks that the *De anima* is an early work, *New Scholasticism*, 7, 1933, 202–21. G. Englhardt, *Die Entwicklung der dogmat. Glaubenspsychologie*, Beiträge z. Gesch. der Philosophie des Mittlealters, XXX, 4–6, p. 220 f, thinks it is based in part on the *Summa de bono* of Philip the Chancellor.

[2] Johannes de Garlandia, *De triumphis eccl.*, ed. Wright, p. 53 f, cited by L. J. Paetow, *Morale scolarium of John of Garland*, p. 83. This probably refers to a period immediately before the strike of 1209–14. Cf. Rashdall's *Medieval Universities*, ed. Powicke and Emden, III, p. 50n.

[3] J. C. Russell, *Shorter Latin Poems of Henry of Avranches*, Medieval Acad. of America, Studies and docs. 1, Cambridge, 1935, p. 131; lines 78 ff: Primus Aristotilis satagens perquirere libros, Quando recenter eos Arabes misere Latinis, Quos numquam fertur legisse celebrius alter, Aut prius, ut perhibent Oxonia Parisiusque. Henry says that John taught theology for twelve years after this, so that his teaching of the Arts must be earlier than 1220. P. Glorieux, *Répertoire des maitres en théologie*, I, 302 f. and Tables puts his teaching at Paris 1218 ?–23 ? and 1223–26. He says he went to Oxford in 1229.

most able English theologians of the century, Robert of Melun and Stephen Langton, taught in Paris; and everyone who could afford it went there to study. When they returned they were apt to be swept into the service of royal or episcopal administration.

For the history of the theological development of the late twelfth century there is no need to look beyond Paris. It is the history of an attempt that was made to arrange and systematise and work out the implications of the patristic material. Hence we have a whole series of *Sentences* and *Summas*, among which Peter Lombard's becomes a standard textbook. The movement does not stop here: it is only just begun. Having something to start from, new questions emerge, the various doctrines are gradually filled out. It is a fascinating process to watch, to see among much that seems to be mere word chopping how new questions are put and answered, how the solutions of one master suggest some new approach to his successor.

In other spheres there were strong external influences. Contact was made with Greek learning in Sicily and Arabic learning in Spain. There is a flood of translations from Greek and Arabic works, scientific and philosophical. The work of Haskins [1] has shown how many Englishmen took part in this movement. We may mention four of them, Roger of Hereford, Daniel of Morley, Alfred of Sareshel and Alexander Nequam. Roger was a canon of Hereford and among other astronomical works compiled a set of tables for the meridian of Hereford in 1178 [2]; and perhaps it is due to him that his fellow canon, Simon du Fresne, inviting Gerald of Wales to come to Hereford, can say that not only astronomy and astrology, but also geomancy are studied there.[3] Of Daniel of Morley we know a little

[1] *Studies in the History of Medieval Science*, Cambridge, 1927.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 125. J. C. Russell, *Isis*, 18, 1932, 15, has found him as a witness in a Hereford charter as late as 1195.

[3] Cambridge, C.C.C., 400, p. 119, G. Cambrensis, poem XLII, ed. Brewer, Opp. I, p. 382 f. The date of the poem is *c.* 1195–7. The descrip-

more.[1] He left England in the 1170's to study in Paris and found law in possession. So he went to Toledo where he worked under Gerard of Cremona; and he gives a lively picture of an argument between himself and Gerard about the influence of the stars over human affairs. Invited by his friends to return to England, he came with a precious load of books. He was on his way to Northampton,[2] where he heard that his subjects were studied, when he met the Bishop of Norwich, who asked for an account of the teaching of Toledo. This he gave in his *Philosophia*, which is partly cosmological and partly astronomical. Its interest lies mainly in the use of the new translations, the use of which he stoutly defends, among them several quotations from Aristotle, which in fact are mostly taken from Avicenna.[3] Later Daniel appears as parson of Flitcham in Norfolk,[4] the only preferment he is known to have held. Alfred of Sareshel is a much more important person, but unhappily nothing is known of his life except that he was an Englishman who studied abroad.[5] Presumably he returned, since two of his works are dedicated

tion of the subjects taught is not in Brewer's text and will be found in Appendix I. It is an addition of 32 lines after line 36. Its genuineness is supported by the excellence of the manuscript, on which see Dimock, Opp. V. p. xiv, H. E. Butler, *Medium Aevum* IV, 1935, 143, and the description in the Catalogue by M. R. James. Father Ziegler tells me it is much the earliest reference to geomancy in England.

[1] See the preface to the *Philosophia*, most of which is in O.H.S. *Collectanea*, II, 169 f. The whole work was printed by K. Sudhoff in *Archiv. für die Gesch. der Naturwissenschaften*, VIII, 6–40, from B.M. Arundel, 377. Cf. M. Müller, "Die Stellung des Daniel von Morley," *Philosophisches Jahrbuch*, 1928, 301–37.

[2] This word is omitted in Sudhoff's text. It was restored by A. Birkenmajer, *ibid.*, IX, 47, from Berlin lat. qu. 387.

[3] A. Birkenmajer, *Le rôle joué par les médecins et les naturalistes dans la réception d'Aristote au xii^e et xiii^e siècles* (Extrait de la Pologne au VI^e Congres international des sciences hist., Oslo, 1928), Warsaw, 1930, p. 3 f.

[4] Russell, *Isis*, *loc. cit.* 22 f. It is odd that he is never called magister in the record sources. In the preface to the *Philosophia* he does call the Bishop of Norwich dominum meum ac patrem spiritualem.

[5] C. Baeumker, *Die Stellung des Alfred von Sareshel*, Bayerische Akad. Sitz. Ber., Phil. hist. Kl., Abh. 9, 1913. G. Lacombe, *Aus der Geisteswelt des Mittelalters*, Beiträge, Suppl. Bd. III, 1, pp. 463–71. He quotes a passage in which Alfred names his master, Solomon Avenroza.

to Englishmen, his translation of the Ps. Aristotelian *De vegetabilibus* to Roger of Hereford and the *De motu cordis* to Alexander Nequam. The *De motu cordis* is mainly biological and is of some independent value. It " shows a wealth of Aristotelian citation such as we cannot find in any other Latin author of the time." [1] The scientific works of Alfred's friend, Alexander Nequam, were not written until after he became a monk ; and he set out to convey moral instruction, so that his knowledge appears rather incidentally and, as it were, reluctantly. But it deserves emphasis for the following reason. There is a considerable time-lag between the translation of the new Aristotle and its diffusion and assimilation. As has recently been shown, the most important people in this process were the naturalists, and in particular the doctors of Salerno. Now Alexander has not only the distinction of being the first person in the West to know both the Greco-Latin and Arabic-Latin translations of Aristotle, but he was also acquainted with one at least of the Salernitan doctors. For some whole chapters of the *De naturis rerum* are lifted straight from the commentary on the *Aphorismi* of Urso of Calabria.[2]

The time-lag is still more marked among the theologians, and little wonder. Aristotelianism in its pure form and the doctrines of Avicenna were not at all reconcilable with the Christian faith ; and more than one person must have come to grief by taking them over too uncritically. There has recently been published, or rather republished, for it lay hid in the edition of Avicenna's works, a *Liber de causis primis et secundis*,[3] apparently written about this time, in which Avicenna's doctrines are accepted without reserve, and in which the quotations from St. Augustine are " bowdlerised," so as to remove any

[1] Haskins, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

[2] In his valuable paper *cit. supr.* p. 24, Birkenmajer called attention (p. 5) to the occurrence of Urso's name in Laus sap. div. (IV, 235, ed. Wright, R.S., p. 425).

[3] R. de Vaux, *Notes et textes sur l'Avicennisme latin, Bibl. Thomiste*, XX, Paris, 1934.

specific references to Christianity, and the authority of St. Augustine is invoked to prove that we can have no knowledge of God![1] Alexander Nequam is perhaps the first theologian to introduce into his *summa* a doctrine of Avicenna, very tentatively and without mentioning his name. In his discussion of the faculties of the soul, he first expounds the traditional view of the three faculties, and then gives one that derives from the *De anima* of Avicenna. In the end he decides unconvincingly for the traditional one "ne uidear abrogare doctrinam maiorum." Other Englishmen knew something of Avicenna. Gerald of Wales quotes the translator's preface to the *De anima*,[2] and John of London, whom we have already mentioned, is said to have taught scientific doctrines according to Avicenna.[3]

Turning to literary works we find a different state of affairs. The glory is not yet departed, but there is little more to come. We are at the end of a century's endeavour. The humanism of the twelfth century somehow failed to take root, and literary studies were scarcely provided for in the university curriculum. Grammar as understood and taught by Bernard of Chartres disappeared; and we are left with the rudiments for boys on the one hand and with logical investigations of meaning on the other. It is an exaggeration to say that the classics were neglected in the thirteenth century. Poets and prose-writers were probably read almost as much as before; but they came to be read rather for the information they contained than as models to imitate. They were regarded as quarries for useful sayings and stories suitable for inclusion in collections of *exempla*. Thus we get all the later moralisations. At the end of the twelfth century, however, this development was

[1] R. de Vaux, *Notes et textes sur l'Avicennisme latin, Bibl. Thomiste*, XX, p. 138.

[2] *Spec. eccl. proem.*, ed. Brewer, Opp. IV, p. 10 (written *c.* 1220): super librum Aristotilis quendam de Anima intitulatum. This preface is not in the printed edition of Avicenna's works. It was first published by A. Jourdain, *Recherches sur les anciennes traductions d'Aristote*, Paris, 1843, p. 449, and has been printed several times since.

[3] J. de Garlandia, *De triumph. eccl.*, p. 54.

still in the future. Gerald of Wales, it is true, began to sound warnings over the encroachment of logic and the decay of *litteratura*; but no one fresh from reading Joseph of Exeter's epic on the Trojan War could realise it. And were there not in England two of the leading professors of the poetic art, Geoffrey of Vinsauf and Gervase of Melkley? The *milieu* of these men is elusive. Joseph of Exeter was the nephew of Archbishop Baldwin and apparently a member of his household.[1] Geoffrey, who wrote the standard text-book on the art of poetry, the *Poetria nova* as it came to be called to distinguish it from the *Poetria vetus* of Horace, taught for a time at Northampton, but was driven out from there by a rival.[2] Gervase of Melkley is also hard to trace.[3]

It is possible to obtain a clearer view of the aims and achievements of the monastic writers. For the most part their works can be called theological. They wrote elaborate and lengthy commentaries on the Bible that contain little that is original. Robert, prior of Bridlington, and Clement, prior of Lanthony, are typical examples. Clement put together a Gospel harmony and wrote an enormous commentary on it that seems to be nearly all taken from older writers. He also commented on Acts and on the Pauline Epistles. His *Harmony* became the standard one for England and later a translation was made. His commentary was useful enough to be revised by William of Nottingham, before the middle of the thirteenth century.

The monasteries had great attractions for scholars. When he was in the schools Alexander Nequam had made a

[1] G. Cambrensis, *De gestis*, II, 20, Opp. I, p. 79. Cf. Stubbs, *Epp. Cantuarienses*, R.S., pp. xxxvi, 230.

[2] See the poem of which part is printed by E. Faral, *Les arts poétiques du xii^e et du xiii^e siècle*, Paris, 1924, p. 17. A couplet is in the *Summa de col. rhet.*, *ibid.*, p. 323.

[3] Faral, *op. cit.*, pp. 34–7. He is found as a witness to two charters at St. Paul's; A 17/261 (W.D. 1, f. 21v), a grant by Godfrey de Lucy to Geoffrey de Lucy, dean of St. Paul's and the chapter, 1229–41; and A 32/608, a grant by Peter son of William son of Alulf to G. de Lucy, dean of St. Paul's, 1229–31. For these references I am indebted to Miss M. Gibbs.

pact with a fellow-student to enter one, and became a canon at Cirencester, though his friend became an official in the Exchequer. Other examples are not hard to find. Warin, abbot of St. Albans (1183–95), had studied at Salerno,[1] and his successor John de Cella, who had been a master at Paris, was " in grammar esteemed a Priscian, in verse an Ovid, in physic a Galen." [2] Thomas of Marlborough, who later became abbot of Evesham, had been a pupil of Langton at Paris and taught law at Exeter and Oxford, and entered the monastery bringing with him the books on canon and civil law which he had used in the schools, and also books on medicine.[3] Another monk of Evesham, Adam Sortes, had for many years taught the liberal arts before he became a monk.[4] Abbot Samson of Bury had made his way in the world by the same road ; and in the chronicle of Jocelyn one of the arguments put forward on behalf of choosing a scholarly abbot is that otherwise *clerici litterati* may disdain to take the religious habit at Bury.[5]

Such men in their new life sometimes ceased to care for learning. Alexander of Ashby in the dedicatory letter to his work on preaching, addressing an abbot whose name is not given, says :

> I have not forgotten your excellence in the schools, how quick you were in learning and teaching, your diligent labour, your eager study, your acute thinking and your moving eloquence. But after you had fled from the schools to the cloisters, you became as it were an unlearned man (*quasi homo illiteratus*) and a despiser of letters, *nec lectioni nec doctrine insistens*.[6]

Alexander goes on to urge his friend to undertake some preaching at least. Some scholars by their ability rose to high office in their house, and their cares in looking after

[1] *Gesta Abbatum*, ed. Riley, R.S., I, pp. 194–6. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 217.
[3] *Chron. abb. Evesham*, ed. Macray, R.S., pp. 232, 267.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 147.
[5] *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, ed. Arnold, R.S., I, p. 323.
[6] *De artif. modo pred.*, prol., Cambridge Univ. Libr. II, 1, 24, f. 166v.

its affairs absorbed all their energies. But not all were so diverted, and there were those who thought a monastery was the home of true wisdom. The case is well put by Alexander of Ashby in another work, addressed to a monk named Letardus [1]:

> You must not be negligent, but diligent in the exercise of good work, in cultivating your heart and in the study of wisdom, in the knowledge that the acquisition " of it is better than the merchandise of silver, and the gain thereof than fine gold." And I do not advise you to seek a school or a master elsewhere than in the cloister. For if the law [that is the divine law] is learnt in quiet and silence, what place is better suited to the study of it than the cloister, where a discreet silence and a disciplined quietness is especially observed? You have many masters among you, most skilled in divine and secular learning, who will be able to expound theological questions (*theologicas rationes*) all the better as they know them more truly, not only by their knowledge, but by their experience. I think that only they purely and rightly understand the holy writings, who by the purity of their life keep close to that spirit, by which the scripture was composed and expounded.

These men were apt to be hostile to the newer learning and methods of enquiry. Senatus, prior of Worcester,[2] writes to Master William of Tunbridge, probably a master at Oxford and later in the household of the Bishop of Worcester: " A book is said to have issued forth from your schools, which in passing through the hands of many has invited criticism (*reprehensionis morsum*). When I examined it I found no title and no author's name." [3] But fortunately he gives the opening words which enabled R. L. Poole to identify it as the *Sententiae* of Peter of Poitiers,

[1] *Breuissima comprehensio historiarum uet. et nou. test.*, prol., York Cath. XVI. Q. 14, s. XIII, f. 56rb. The work is anon. with only a short piece from the end of the prol. in B.M. Royal 6 B. XI, ff. 54v–61, s. XIV in.

[2] On him see C. H. Turner, *Early Worcester MSS.*, Oxford, 1916, App. II.

[3] Holland, O.H.S. *Collectanea*, II, p. 181 f. Holland doubted whether Oxford was referred to. But see Salter's note on the Vision of the Monk of Eynsham c. XXVI, *Eynsham Cartulary*, O.H.S., LI, II, p. 325 f.

chancellor of Notre Dame at Paris.[1] It is certainly a work in which the dialectical method is employed to the full; and Grabmann speaks of Peter's virtuosity in making subtle distinctions that throw darkness rather than light on the question at issue.[2] Senatus goes on:

> But whoever the author is he treats audaciously of the Trinity, he disputes irreverently about God. And he so involves the ineffable secret of the Deity by subtle objections, that scarcely a word can be said about God that does not require someone to explain it.

He proceeds to object to some specific passages. Now Senatus was far from being an ignorant or unlettered person. He wrote two saints' lives [3] and some sermons; and we have several letters written to people who had consulted him. There is one to Roger, bishop of Worcester, who had asked for explanations on some points about penance. In another letter we see him swelling with pride as he answers Clement, prior of Oseney [4]:

> It is an old saying you read in the book of Kings, "Those who ask counsel, let them ask it at Abel, because that city had many schools!" And I say this to you on account of the city that lies close to you, in which there are many eloquent orators and men who can weigh the words of the law and who bring forth from their treasure things new and old for everyone that asks. These you have passed over, and you consult me.

It must be admitted that such men were often a little out of touch. But they were solid. Dom Wilmart's judgment on Adam of Dryburgh, a Premonstratensian canon who

[1] Holland, O.H.S., *op. cit.*, p. 182.

[2] *Gesch. der schol. Methode*, Freiburg, 1911, II, p. 510.

[3] The suggestion of R. R. Darlington that he made the abbreviation of the life of St. Wulfstan (*Vita Wulfstani*, Camden 3rd Ser. 1928, p. xxi) is supported by a letter to Roger, Bishop of Worcester in Bodl. 633 (1966), f. 197v: Uitam quoque beatorum pontificum OSWALDI et WLSTANI etsi non quo decuit, quo tamen potui, stilo descripsi.

[4] Holland, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

later became a Carthusian at Witham, sums the matter up well :

Erudite, richly endowed with natural gifts and shot through with fervour, he did not understand, perhaps was not even aware of the immense movement in philosophy and theology, which was taking shape at that time. . . . He found his own level and peace in the disciplines of the past.[1]

There were others, especially among the Augustinian Canons, who were more in sympathy with contemporary movements abroad. We may begin with Robert of Cricklade,[2] who belongs to the preceding generation. He had been a master in the schools, we do not know where, and then entered the new royal foundation of Cirencester, where he wrote his *De connubio patriarche Iacob*,[3] an allegorical exposition of the story of Jacob. It contains an interesting passage on William of Malmesbury that seems to have been overlooked. He is answering those who criticise him for writing at all and says there are some authors still left in the world :

I have read all the works of the venerable abbot of Clairvaux that have come into my hands ; and the excellent work of William monk and cantor of the church of Malmesbury, which he compiled on the Lamentations of Jeremiah I have not only read, but caused a copy of it to be put in our church. I have also read his little book on the miracles of the blessed virgin Mary, which is also in our church. What shall I say of his excerpts

[1] A. Wilmart, *Mélanges Mandonnet, Bibl. Thomiste*, xiv, Paris, 1930, II, p. 161.

[2] On him see Haskins, *op. cit.*, pp. 169–71.

[3] *De connubio*, II, 22, Bodl. Laud. misc. 725, s. XII, f. 129va (immediately after the passage cit. below) : Non enim inuideo monachis scribentibus, sed congaudeo, licet non sim monachus, sed indignissimus canonicorum ecclesie sancte dei genitricis Marie sub disciplina sancti et uenerabilis S(erlonis) primi eiusdem loci abbatis pro remissione peccatorum suorum deo supplicantium. Serlonis is written out in full in Hereford Cath. P. 4, viii. He was abbot 1131–47. Therefore the work must be dated 1131–*c.* 1140, which removes the foundation from Haskins' argument that he is Roboratus. The preface is in Holland, *op. cit.*, p. 161 f. Hereford, P. 4, viii, adds Winchelcumbensi after Laurentio monacho and Geruasio et Achardo after sanctis fratribus.

from the works of the most blessed pope Gregory? . . . Other works of his I have not yet read, but I shall, if it pleases God to lengthen the span of my life.[1]

Robert became prior of St. Frideswide's at Oxford about 1140 and remained in that office until his death about 1180. During that time he made three journeys to Rome, and on one of them he went as far as Sicily. We also find him on a visit to Paris, violently opposing Peter Lombard's Christological views.

I remember [he says] that Roger, who is now Bishop of Worcester, came to our inn. I asked him with whom he was studying theology, and he replied, "With Master Robert of Melun." "I am very pleased," I said, "I was afraid that that heretic—he means Peter Lombard—had you ensnared in his net." One of his chief pupils (I pass over his name in silence), who had come with Roger of a set purpose, I believe, on hearing this, said: "In what point is Master Peter a heretic?" "In many," I replied. "Let one of them be propounded," he said.[2]

[1] *Loc. cit.* Nam et que in manus nostras uenerunt scripta uenerabilis abbatis Clarisuallen..is legi; et uiri summe eruditionis Guillelmi Meldunensis ecclesie monachi et cantoris preclarum opus quod super Lamentationes Ieremie compilauit non tantum legi, uerum ut et in nostra ecclesia scriptum haberetur exegi. Legi et libellum eius de miraculis beatissime dei genitricis et perpetue uirginis Marie, qui et in nostra ecclesia habetur. Quid dicam super deflorationibus eius ex opusculis beatissimi pape Gregorii? In quibus ita uiolentus procedit eradicator uitiorum et diligens edificator uirtutum, ut in eo quodammodo uideatur impleri quod scriptum est: Ecce constitui te super gentes et regna ut euellas et destruas et edifices et plantes. Alia eius opuscula nondum legi, sed legam, si deo placuerit et et uite mee spatium protelauerit. William of Malmesbury's excerpts from Gregory escaped Stubbs. They are in Cambridge Univ. Libr., Ii. 3, 20, mentioned by M. R. James, *Two Ancient English Scholars*, Glasgow, 1931, p. 19.

[2] *Spec. fidei*, III, 5, Cambridge, C.C.C. 380, f. 62v. The text of the whole chapter will be found in Appendix II. The date of the incident is before the death of Peter Lombard in 1160. Possibly the occasion was Robert's visit to Rome in 1158. He made other journeys there in 1141 (not quite certainly) and in 1151. The passage shows that Robert of Melun did return to Paris, as R. M. Martin suggests (*Œuvres de Robert de Melun I*, Spicil. sacr. Lovaniense 13, Louvain 1932, p. ix). The Robert archdeacon of Oxford, mentioned by Martin, p. x, was Robert Foliot. The *Speculum fidei* is dedicated to a layman, Robert, earl of Leicester. A copy of it is in the catalogue of the library of the Abbey of Lyre (Cat. gen. des MSS., Departements, II, p. 381, referred to by Manitius, *Gesch.*, III, pp. 241n.) of which the Earls of Leicester were patrons.

They go on to discuss Peter's view of the natures of Christ, which was indeed condemned at the Council of Tours in 1163. The work from which this is taken, a sort of *summa* called the *Speculum fidei* is as a whole disappointing. Robert contents himself with collecting and discussing rather slightly the texts from the Old and New Testament supposed to refer to the Trinity and the Incarnation and so forth. Only in the chapters devoted to Peter's views does he try to grapple with anything deeper and makes an attempt at reasoning.

Another prolific Augustinian canon was Peter, prior of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, a Cornishman, who tells us something about his family in a story in his huge *Liber reuelationum.*[1] Before this he had compiled another enormous work called the *Pantheologus*, which is divided into four parts.[2] The first is dedicated to his teacher, Master Henry of Northampton, who was a canon of St. Paul's; the second and third to Ralph of Haute Rive, Archdeacon of Colchester, who died at the siege of Acre in 1191 [3]; and the fourth to Godfrey de Lucy, Bishop of Winchester, a fellow student, where we do not know. In the prologue Peter gives an interesting account of the way he came to write the work.[4] He was at a synod in attendance on Stephen, his prior,[5] and Gilbert Foliot preached the sermon. When he heard it he could not restrain his admiration and praise. "The whole sermon was varied by certain *distinctiones*,

[1] Lambeth 51. The text is printed in the Catalogue. A translation was given by G. G. Coulton, *Social Life in Britain*, Cambridge, 1919, pp. 218 ff.

[2] Pt. I is in Oxford, Merton Coll. 191, B.M. Royal 6 E. VIII, 7 E. VIII; pts. II–III, in Merton 192, Royal 7 C. XIII, 7 F. IV; pt. IV in Lincoln Coll. lat. 83, Royal 7 C. XIV. There are other MSS.

[3] Ralph is thanked for helping Peter to hire scribes to copy the work. Pt. I, prol. preter rem, Merton 191 f. 1vb: Michi et scribendi et transcribendi et scriptores conducendi non minus uoluptaria quam necessaria uelud Thimotheus Paulo aut Damasus Ieronimo liberaliter inpendis.

[4] It is repeated in the prol. of pts. I, II–III and IV in almost identical terms. The text of the prol. of pt. I, which gives the clearest account of his aims, will be found in Appendix III.

[5] Stephen was prior from 1170–97.

adorned with flowers of words and sentences and supported by a copious array of authorities. It ran backwards and forwards on its path from its starting-point back to the same starting point." He then gives an example. When Gilbert spoke of Christ as a stone, he brought forward the stone which the builders rejected, which is become the head of the corner, he brought forward the stone which Jacob set up for a pillar and on top of which he poured oil, he brought forward the stone that was cut out of the mountain without hands. Peter was so much struck with this method that he determined to write a work in which the *lector studiosus* might find all such passages collected together and arranged. This is really important because it is an early example of the *distinctio* method, which in its simplest form consists in taking a word according to its senses and attaching a quotation of the Bible to each. The germ of it is old. But it was not developed as a systematic method of exegesis until after the death of Peter Lombard, when it arose and spread with great rapidity. It is unusual to get such a close view of the way in which a typical medieval form was transmitted.

It will be noticed that a large proportion of the writers whom we have mentioned are Augustinian canons. This predominance has hardly been brought out sufficiently; and it is difficult to suggest reasons for it. The Augustinians are a very elusive order. They have no rule that is worthy of the name and their constitutions, of which few survived, are not very helpful. Yet we have this undoubted intellectual activity that springs up very gradually, only to disappear again in the course of the thirteenth century. Possibly an examination of the Victorine tradition would throw some light on it.

Though the material we have brought together is fragmentary and far from complete, it does in a way fit together and combine to give us an idea of some of the many-sided interests of the writers of the period. They are poised a little uneasily, as though not quite certain of their direction.

They look back to the earlier and less perplexing time when all that could be hoped for was to master and consolidate what one had, and forward to the great and lasting achievements of the thirteenth century for which they are helping to prepare the way. None of them was of outstanding importance, and most of them have been forgotten ; but if we are ever to be given a history of learning in England in the Middle Ages, they will have a secure place in it.

APPENDIX

I. Extract from the Poem of Simon du Fresne

Flos et honos cleri, nostram te transfer ad urbem,
sunt ubi philosophi, summus habendus ibi.
Urbs Herefordensis multum tibi competit, in qua
proprius est triuii quadriuiique locus.
Floruit et floret, et in hac specialiter urbe
artis septene predominatur honos.
Gramatice doctrina docet constructio que sit
recta, loqui recte qua sine nemo potest.
Ars logice dat scire quid est inductio, quid sit
entimema, quid est maxima, quidque locus.
Retoris hec laus est quod sic sua uerba leporat,
possit ut eloquio quemque mouere suo.
Quis numerus solidus, quis planus, quis cubicus sit,
quisue laterculus est ars numerosa docet.
Dina per alkidade geometra foramine spectans,
quot pedibus turris alta sit arte probat.
Musicus ostendit que sit proportio uocum
dissimilesque docet consociare modos.
Astronomia docet ubi sol, ubi luna mouetur,
solis et eclipsim precinit ante diem.
Astrologus notat hic horas arcumque diei,
quo breuis est et quo tempore longa dies.
Cum solem recipit Aries uel Libra, sub illis
esse parem nocti comperit arte diem.
Principium Cancri cum sol subit arte probatur,
quod spatiosa dies longior esse nequit.
Oppositum Cancro cum sol subit Egloceronta
nulla dies transit sub breuiore mora.
Hic geomanticus est formans ter quinque figuras,
iudicio quarum queque futura uidet,

Lambeth 236, f. 166r (*G. Cambr.*, Opp. I, 382 f.); Cambridge, C.C.C. 400, p. 119.

37-68 *om. Lamb.*

quid uia, quid populus, quid carcer, quid capud altum,
quid queat in quauis queque figura domo.
Omnia distinguit, tandem pronuntiat utrum
femina, uir uotum possit habere suum.
His aperit fisis quid sint elementa, quid ile,
que mundi causa primicialis erat.
Hic noua lex legitur, legitur uetus, hicque decenter
causidice leges equidicensque canon.
Hunc ubi tot radiant artes de iure teneris,
cum sis artis honos, artis amare locum.
Huc ergo uenias, toti dominaberis urbi,
seruiet urbs flexo poplite tota tibi.

62 quead *Camb.*

II. Rodberti Krikeladensis, *Speculum Fidei*, III, 5

De hoc quod auctor huius libri Parisius perhendinans publice Petrum hereticum denominavit, et cum quodam discipulo eius, de eo quod Deus et homo una [*f.* 62*v*] *persona est contulit et obmutescere fecit.*

Sed dicet aliquis: "Quis es tu, qui tantum virum persequeris mortuum, cum quo conferre non auderes vivo?" "Immo audebam," dico, "et in sua civitate, id est Parisius, ubi docebat, hereticum eum esse patenter pronuntiabam. Testes michi sunt domnus Achardus postea Abricensis episcopus, et domnus Rodbertus Herefordensis, qui tunc temporis Parisius erant, quando ibi perhendinans, eum hereticum esse publice affirmabam; et cum potioribus discipulis eius contuli, ad me ut didici, ab eo missis. Meminit enim me domnum Rogerum, qui nunc est Wigornensis episcopus, venisse ad hospicium nostrum. Quem cum interrogassem apud quem in divina pagina studeret, et respondisset, "Apud magistrum Robertum Meldunensem." "Perplacet," inquam, "timebam enim, ne te teneret inviscatum hereticus ille." Quod audiens quidam de potioribus discipulis eius, (sed nomen taceo) qui cum domno Rogero, ut opinor, ex industria venerat. "In quo," inquit, "hereticus est magister Petrus?" "In multis," inquam. "Unum," inquit "proferatur." "Separat" inquam [f. 63r] "hominem a Deo, ut non sit una persona homo cum Deo in Trinitate, qui

Cambidge, C.C.C. 380. 10 Wgornensis *MS.*

revera filius Dei est." "Non intelligis" inquit "quomodo hoc dictum sit." "Nec intelligam" inquam "in vita mea quia hoc heresis est pessima et detestabilis." "Audi" inquit "me patienter, et ego reserabo tibi veritatem." "Veritas" inquam "audienda est et semper amanda." "Nosti" inquit "albedinem esse in corpore, et non conferre corpori ut substancia sit." Et ego "Scio" inquam "quo tendas. Non hoc modo michi exemplificabis. Loquimur enim de duabus naturis, divina scilicet et humana, et tu inducis de natura exemplum, et de accidente, quod nec inter naturas computatur. Si vis michi exemplificare, induc exemplum de duabus naturis, sicut loquimur de duabus naturis. Quod si nescis, ego inducam. Sicut anima rationalis et caro unus est homo, ita Deus et homo unus est Christus." "Ita" inquit ipse "quod nullo modo ita." Et ego "Si nullo modo" inquam "ita Deus et homo unus est Christus, ut anima rationalis et caro unus est homo, tunc non ita. Sed ita et non ita tantum sibi contradicunt, quod simul esse non possunt. Itaque sancta Dei ecclesia catholica canit cum plena fide per universum [f. 63v] orbem terrarum, ita Deus et homo unus est Christus. Heretici vero in conventiculis suis perstrepunt, dicentes non ita." Hoc itaque concluso sermone obmutuit ille confusus. Qui vero tunc aderant sane sapientes congratulantur michi. Itaque fideliter firmiterque credendum et confitendum est, quia dominus noster Iesus Christus, secundum quod Deus est, filius Dei est et creator omnium creaturarum; secundum quod homo est, filius hominis est, factus creatura, ut creaturam redimeret.

III. Petri de Cornubia

Prologus in primam partem *Pantheologi*

Magistro Henrico de Norhamtun suus ille Petrus, olim quidem discipulus, nunc autem seruus in domino, hoc totum quod est optimum. Uir desideriorum sollicitus agnoscere que circa discipulum in claustro canonicorum agerentur studia, petisti sepe ut saltem unum uel duos quaternos opusculi nostri nouiter incepti tibi transmitterem. Quod

Merton Coll. 191, f. 2r; Royal 6 E. VIII, f. 1r (A); Royal 7 E. VIII, f. 1r (R).

quidem ne facerem pudor dissuasit, timor prohibuit, ignorantia excusauit. Os enim tuum omnes attendunt, pectus suspiciunt, utrumque admirantur; coram cuius iudicio Ieremias puer est et nescit loqui; Moyses quoque omni sapientia Egyptiorum eruditus incircumcisus est labiis et eloquens non est ab heri et nudius tercius ex quo tecum loquitur. Preterea cum omne inuentionis humane initium suam habeat imperfectionem, timui patere morsibus inuidorum, qui aliorum sapientiam cum annorum numerositate metientes se non posse laudari autumant nisi aliene felicitati derogantes carnes conferant ad uescendum. Quid igitur? Numquid ulterius funis inobedientie est pertrahendus et non potius magistro parendum quam inuido per silentium parcendum? Freno igitur pudoris et timoris longius abiecto, elegi potius magistri iussionibus obtemperare et, ut aliquorum temperem inopiam, opus laboris mei quod secreto solus habui in plateas foras diriuare quam pecuniam domini mei, quantumlibet paruam michi creditam, in terram fodere et abscondere. Qui enim super pauca fuerit fidelis super multa constituetur, et qui abscondit frumenta maledicetur in populis; benedictio autem super caput uendentium. Panis enim egentium, ut sapiens ait, uita est pauperis et qui defraudat illum, homo sanguinis est. Paruula michi credita est pecunia quam si ad mensam dedero ueniens dominus illam exiget cum usura, et qui mercedem calicis aque frigide promittit nullum relinquens bonum irremuneratum michi cum Ysaac seminanti centuplum in anno benignitatis sue accumulabit. Si enim multum non ualeam cum Zacheo, saltem minutum uel unum cum uidua inferam in donariis domini, apud quem non res sed uoluntas que operi nomen imponit mercedem accipit. Accipe igitur, magister bone, non quaternum unum, sed ex quaternis multis laboris mei opus primum, non ut quod imperfectionis plurimum habet iudices, sed ut euellas et destruas et edifices et plantes. Quod enim in prima sui conditione de perfectionis laude minus habuerit, si foliis uerborum tuorum adumbretur, si flosculis et coloribus prudentie tue rethoricis depingatur, si gratia correctionis tue nobilitetur, omnis admirationis laude plus erit. In eo siquidem tot inuenientur areole aromatum, tot cellule uinarie pigmentariorum, ut comedant amici,

16 nisi]ubi *A*.
18 protrahendus *A*.
32 irrenumeratum *A*,
38 unum *om*. *A*,

inebrientur karissimi. Minus peritis erit desiderabile, perfectis uero memoriale : actiuis erit utillimum, contemplatiuis uero iocundum. Uiris quoque labilis memorie qui precepta diu retinere non ualent, claustralibus etiam et ad clerum uel ad populum sermones assuefacientibus in hoc opusculo maxime prospectum est, quos de omnibus diuine pagine auctoritatibus que ad sermonem faciendum magis sunt necessarie celeriter ditat et instruit et uerbis et auctoritatibus copiosos facit. Que enim ab occultis diuersorum librorum sinibus sparsim a peritis cum difficultate uix tandem post multam inquisitionis moram ad aliquam rem pertinentia colliguntur, hec omnia etiam ab imperitis in huius opusculi aliquo capitulo simul congesta sine aliqua difficultate celerius dicto reperiuntur. Ecce enim capitulum de tabernaculo proferimus in medium, ut unius uerbi exemplo que diximus etiam de aliis uerbis sine ambiguitate clarius elucescant. Ubi enim de tabernaculo tractauimus, quot modis et quibus rationibus tabernaculum in sacro eloquio dicatur enumerauimus ; eiusdem quoque uerbi diuersarum significationum distinctiones annotauimus. Singulas quoque distinctiones diuersis et copiosis auctoritatum tam ueteris quam noui testamenti exemplis roborauimus. Auctoritatum quoque singularum que exponi indigebant, singulas a sanctis patribus inuentas tam morales quam misticas expositiones, nunc uerbis patrum propriis, nunc illorum prolixitate amputata, nostris compendiosius adnexuimus, ut non iam oporteat sermones facientem circa dicendorum inuentionem laborare, sed potius ex iam inuentis et ante oculos positis et expositis non tam sermonem facere quam iam factum formare. Unde et conclaustralibus nostris quorum cura est in sermonibus suis uerba multipliciter distinguere et diuersarum auctoritatum suppositione que dixerant comprobare, placuit librum studii et laboris nostri Pantheologum nominare, quia uidelicet de omnibus nominibus ad sermonem faciendum aptioribus et plus celebratis que per totius theologie libros inveniuntur sermocinatur et racionatur.

Formam autem et modum hunc scribendi ab illo ore aureo communis patris nostri uenerabilis Gilleberti Londoniensis episcopi mutuaui. Qui cum in sinodo iam nouus canonicus ad uenerabilis patris mei Stephani Sancte Trinita-

76 *Post* formare *add. prol. in pt.* II–III (*Merton* 192). Utilitate quoque huius qui stilo ecclesiastico epistolas scribit gaudebit.

tis Londonie prioris pedes, humilis et attentus auditor assedissem, formam et modum sermonis eius quem fecit ad clerum ut audiui, admirans obmutui et laudans tacere non potui. Totus enim sermo ille quibusdam distinctionibus uariatus et flosculis uerborum et sententiarum depictus et copiosa auctoritatum subiectione roboratus, a principio per tramites suos ad idem principium decurrebat et recurrebat ut areolas agrorum multiplicibus riuulorum tractibus uniformi dissimilitudine exaratas et multiplici uernantis germinis fructu inter carnalium decursus fecundatas cogitares nec hominem sed super hominem esse, qui tanta auctoritatum copia per singulas sermonis distinctiones superhabundare potuisset affirmares. Cum enim inter cetera Christum lapidem diceret, protulit in medium illum lapidem angularem ab edificantibus reprobatum, protulit et in medium lapidem illum quem Iacob unxit oleo et erexit in titulum, protulit et in medium nichilominus lapidem illum in Daniele de monte sine manibus abscisum. Et cum circa hec et similia sermo eius in longum protraheretur, pulcherrima uerborum uarietate distinctus, tanta velocitate sine impedimenti inuidia quocunque uoluit decurrebat, ut non iam excogitata recitare, sed omnia ante oculos diligenti examinatione conscripta legere putares. Tante igitur et tam preclare nouitatis dulcedine exhilaratus, tanteque et tam desiderande omnium utilitatis intentione ad presumendum similia prouocatus, sepe et multum solus mecum tacitus et sollicitus cogitare cepi, quibusnam certe legis loris fugax memoria teneretur, et quo certe artis fine rerum ac nominum incomprehensibilis infinitas comprehendi ualeret. Tandem uero post diuturnas lugubrationum ignorantie nebulas lumen patuit querenti et scientie ianua aperta est pulsanti, per quam inoffenso pede ad interiora artis precepta percurrerem, et opus uotiuum per metodum artis inuentam ad finem diu desideratum usque perducerem, in quo lector studiosus omnia, prout diximus, sine mora que querit inueniet ; et in morem corollarii se inuenisse que non sperabat optata pro mercede accipiet.

Opus autem istud quod Pantheologum diximus pro magnitudine sui in quatuor partes siue uolumina eundem scribendi stilum et similem tractandi formam per omnes suos libros habentia distinximus, ut delicatis qui parua

99 firmares *R*.

degustant ex parte sufficeret et auide sumentibus qui omnia possunt ex toto non deesset. Quelibet autem quatuor supradictarum Pantheologi partium xiii continet libros capitulis suis distinctos. Capitula autem cuiusque partis in principio sui disposuimus ut in primo limine quisque modum et progressum tractatus agnoscat, et sine difficultatis mora que querit inueniat. Primam autem partem Dauid nominauimus, non quia in ea soli psalmi Dauitici, sed in ea sola psalmi Dauitici tractantur. Preterea omnia eiusdem partis capitula a libro psalmorum sumunt initia et omnes eiusdem partis paragrafi de psalmis Dauiticis emanant. Prime enim partis omnia fere capitula paragrafis et maioribus apicibus distinximus, ut paragrafi omnes et principia capitulorum Dauiticam pretendant auctoritatem. Apices uero omnes et sub primo paragrafo conscribantur et undecumque et aliis libris tam ueteris quam noui testamenti testimonia inducant. Pars autem secunda solis paragrafis exaratur. Et quia ex solis Salomonis libris auctoritates sumit, nomen Salomonis sibi iure uendicauit. Libri autem a quibus auctoritates inducit et a nonnullis omnes Salomonis dicuntur, eo quod mellifluum Salomonis stilum redoleant. Sunt numero quinque, videlicet Parabole Salomonis, Ecclesiastes, Cantica canticorum, Sapientia Salomonis, Ecclesiasticum. Pars autem tercia similiter solis paragrafis distinguitur et ex solis prophetarum libris auctoritates inducit. Unde et prophete nomen sortita est. Prophete autem ex quibus testimonia assumit sunt numero XVIII videlicet Ysaias, Jeremias Ezechiel, Daniel et XII reliqui prophete qui in eodem uolumine conscribuntur ; Iob, Apocalypsis Iohannis. Pars autem quarta sicut et prima nullorum singulariter librorum arctatur angustiis, sed passim et sine delectu ex omnibus tam ueteris quam noui testamenti libris testimonia dictorum que relique partes dimiserant sollicite colligit.

THE NATURE AND USE OF THE WESTMINSTER ABBEY MUNIMENTS

By Lawrence E. Tanner, M.V.O., F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S.

Read 12 *December*, 1935

I

The Muniments of Westminster Abbey form one of the largest and most important collections of medieval and later manuscripts in England in private or semi-private hands. No English Cathedral or Abbey Church has so complete a collection of documents dealing with its history and internal administration, and the fact that Westminster, apart from its London properties, had manors and estates all over England, and that the documents connected with these have been largely preserved, gives the collection an importance from various points of view which is only gradually becoming recognised by scholars and students.

Before, however, dealing with the history of the collection and the classification of its contents, it may be desirable to draw attention to one or two misapprehensions which appear still to exist about it.

In the first place it was perhaps unfortunate that in 1909 a volume in the Series known as "Notes and Documents relating to Westminster Abbey" was published under the title *The Manuscripts of Westminster Abbey*.[1] The manuscripts and books therein described, with the exception of a section on the Westminster Chartularies, are those preserved in the Abbey Library, and these have always been a separate collection. Secondly, although it is really

[1] See below, p. 77.

unnecessary for me to draw attention to the point before this Society, the fact that a document is stated in the older County Histories and similar works to be "preserved in the Chapter House at Westminster" merely refers of course to the fact that up to 1861 a large proportion of the Public Records were kept in that most unsatisfactory depository. I only mention this because every year I receive many enquiries for such documents and have to refer my sometimes quite indignant correspondents and visitors to the Public Record Office. Thirdly, the Calendar of our Muniments published in the *Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts* [1] refers to only a small portion of the collection, and that Calendar, as will be shown, is now entirely superseded by the Calendar and Index to which the late Dr. E. J. L. Scott devoted so many years of his life.

II

The Muniment Room of Westminster Abbey occupies a curious position overlooking the South Transept and is a kind of open gallery midway between the floor and the triforium of the Abbey Church. It is in reality above the vaulting of the north part of the East Cloister. The chamber thus formed is open on two sides to the Church and is of singular beauty. It is completely paved with slip tiles with heraldic and other patterns, probably of late fourteenth-century date, and is divided into two portions by a partition, also of the fourteenth century, part of which is curiously painted with white stars on a red ground. The south wall is almost completely filled by a beautiful thirteenth-century window of three graduated lancets.

The northern half of the Muniment Room is dominated by the great painting of the White Hart of Richard II on the partition above mentioned. This painting was becoming very faint, but in 1933 it was treated by Professor

[1] Appendices to the First Report (pp. 94–7) and to the Fourth Report (pp. 171–99), 1870, 1874.

E. W. Tristram who, with remarkable skill, has brought out almost all its original colouring. Below it is a fine fourteenth-century cupboard in three compartments. Among the other fittings of the Muniment Room are great chests of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, and two iron-bound, leather-covered coffers, which are traditionally said to have been the travelling-trunks of the Lady Margaret Beaufort, the mother of King Henry VII.[1]

It is not known when this room was first used as a storehouse for records. As, however, it was evidently remodelled in the reign of Richard II, it is probable that the tradition which assigns it for this purpose to that date is correct. Nor is it known who was officially the keeper of the records in Monastic times. As was customary, the Precentor was in charge of the books and music at Westminster, but each Obedientiary bought the parchment for his own account rolls and, when they were completed, brought them in duplicate year by year for the annual audit which was held in the Monk Bailiff's Hall. It is quite possible that the Monk Bailiff, who appears to have been the legal official of the Convent, was also in charge of the records. In this connection it is interesting to note that the Treasurer in 1380/81 supplied him with an "Armorial" or cupboard "pro diversis memorandis diversorum maneriorum intus ponendis," and the next year it is definitely stated that this Armorial was "pro munimentis inponendis," [2] and this may well be the cupboard of that date now in the Muniment Room.

We search in vain for any record to show what happened to our Muniments at the Dissolution of the Monastery in 1540. There is no doubt that at this date and in the troublous years which followed some of the collection was

[1] For a fuller description, see *Westminster Papers, No.* 1. *The Library and Muniment Room*, by L. E. Tanner (O.U. Press, 2nd Ed., 1934).

[2] W.A.M. 19869. The initials indicate *W*estminster *A*bbey *M*uniments.

lost or destroyed; but the fact that the changes at Westminster, great though they were, were effected without any great break with continuity, and that the Muniment Room was comparatively inaccessible, resulted in the greater part of the collection being preserved intact. There was little reason to disturb it and we are not entirely surprised to find in 1620 a payment of 6*d.* "for sweeping the roome in the Church where the Records lie when Mr. Dean and Doctor Darrell went thither." [1]

In 1646 comes another entry when part of the money received from the sale of the Regalia, which up to that time had been in the keeping of the Dean and Chapter, was devoted to glazing "the windowes in the Roome wheare the Records are." Later there are payments "for making clean the record room and turning over the records." [2] It was evidently a hopeless task, for when von Uffenbach visited one of my predecessors in the Library in 1710 he notes that "he did not only look like a chimney-sweep but was deaf," though he was surprised to find that he could speak "tolerable latin." [3]

In 1733 the Rev. Richard Widmore was appointed Librarian.[4] He was in many ways a remarkable man. A "laborious searcher into antient records," he undertook with enthusiasm the task of arranging and classifying the Muniments which he "found in great confusion," [5] and to him we largely owe their preservation from damp, beetles and neglect. To this day the Muniment Room shows many evidences of his care and the outline manuscript catalogue which he compiled is still frequently consulted. He used the knowledge which he had thus acquired to write *An Enquiry into the time of the first foundation of*

[1] W.A.M. 33251, f. 99. Cf. W.A.M. 25095.

[2] W.A.M. 42506; 33705, f. 5.d.

[3] *London in 1710*, ed. W. H. Quarrell and M. Mare, p. 75.

[4] For Widmore, see Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes*, III, pp. 617 *et seq.*, and J. E. B. Mayor's Preface to Richard of Chichester's *Speculum Historiale*, Vol. II, pp. vii *et seq.*, in Rolls Series.

[5] Preface to his *History of . . . Westminster Abbey*, p. vi.

Westminster Abbey (1743), and *An History of . . . . Westminster Abbey* (1751).[1] On every page they bear witness to his scholarship and to the extent of his reading among the Muniments and, as Dr. Armitage Robinson testified, "his judgement and accuracy are seldom at fault."[2] We are fortunate also in having among the Muniments an interesting account of the Muniment Room[3] as it was in his time, which is worth quoting in some detail:

The Record Room [he writes] is . . . as secure from Fire as a Place can well be and in no danger from Rain. The Records are kept in ten large Chests, about thirty smaller Boxes and nine Presses; two of which last Sort were made according to the Direction of the Person who hath the Keys of the Room; and it is to be wished that more were made of the same Sort, for the following Reasons.

1. Because as the Room must be used on publick Occasions viz. Coronations, Funerals and Installments so, the greater Chests, and the Boxes, all but two or three, having no Locks only Hasps; without the utmost Care the Loss of some of the Papers can hardly be prevented.

2. Because the necessary Removal of many of the Boxes and some of the Chests at such times, beside the Trouble will also occasion some confusion in the Records, tho' they be carefully sorted and tied up.

3. Because, as most of the large Chests let in Dust and therefore are not proper to keep the most useful Papers, so one of Lesser Boxes will not contain all the Writings belonging to some of the Manors; but they must be put inconveniently into several Boxes.

4. Because as the Air ought sometimes to be let in, to prevent Damp, the great Destroyer of Records, so this might easily be done by opening the Doors of Presses, but hardly to any purpose by turning up the Lids of Boxes, and more especially of great Chests.

[1] Widmore was persuaded to present copies to the Archbishop of Canterbury (Secker) and writes: "The two Prefaces to the History and Enquiry, I have been told, are not much amiss; and I suppose, if his Grace looks at all into it, it will be hardly further than these . . ."! Nichols, *Lit. Anecdotes*, III, p. 619.

[2] *Church Quarterly Review* (April, 1907), p. 58.

[3] W.A.M. 25105.

The result of this Report was the somewhat unexpected but not uncharacteristic purchase by the Chapter not of the newest type of press but of some disused wainscot presses from the Dormitory of the King's Scholars of Westminster School " to be placed in the Record Room for the reception and preservation of the Records and Papers " [1]—and they fulfil this useful function to this day.

Widmore died in 1764.[2] His successor as Librarian, Henry Brooker, was requested by the Chapter in 1770 " to examine and indorse " the records " with proper reference to a General Index of the whole," [3] but while there is some evidence to show that he did useful work it is also clear that under his successors not only was it possible for unauthorised persons to gain access to the Record Room to search for documents, but that documents required for legal purposes were removed from the Muniment Room and not subsequently returned to their proper place.[4]

We may now pass to more modern times. From 1869 to 1872 Mr. Joseph Burtt of the Public Record Office spent much time in rearranging the Muniments and in amplifying Widmore's manuscript catalogue. He then communicated to the Historical Manuscripts Commission a lengthy and detailed description of the most important results of his labours, especially with regard to a heading in Widmore's catalogue entitled " Various Persons and Things " which

[1] Chapter Book, 5 Jan., 1758.

[2] He was buried in the Chancel of the Parish Church of Lasham, Hants —a living he had held for many years. By his will (P.C.C. Simpson, f451), after bequests to his friends and relations, and after making due provision for his old servant to whom among other things he left his " Cow and dogg at Lasham," he bequeathed many of his books to the Abbey Library. From the list given in his will it has been possible to identify these and record the bequest on their fly-leaves.

[3] Chapter Book, 6 Aug., 1770.

[4] Cf. *The Royal Commission on Public Records*, Appendix to the Third Report, Vol. III, Pt. II, p. 117. In 1902, two hundred rolls and other papers relating to Hampstead and Hendon Manors, which had been taken out of this Muniment Room for a Chancery Suit in 1819, were found in a cupboard in the Jericho Parlour in the Deanery.

he renamed "Miscellanea." His Calendar of these documents was printed in the Appendix to the Fourth Report [1] of the Commission. This Calendar is the only printed summary of any of our records, and though valuable in itself it is necessary to say that it has been entirely superseded by Dr. Scott's rearrangement and that the references to press and shelf marks given therein are now no longer operative. Unfortunately Mr. Burtt did not confine his attention to "Miscellanea" and, as Dr. Scott put it, he "meddled with and muddled up the whole of the Muniments" and "wrought such wholesale mischief" that it took years to reduce them to order again.

It is, however, to Dean Bradley (1881–1902) that the credit belongs for having taken proper steps to preserve this great collection. In 1891, being much concerned at the state of the Muniments, he asked his old friend and former pupil, Dr. Edward J. L. Scott, at that time Egerton Librarian at the British Museum, to see if anything could be done in the matter. Dr. Scott at once suggested that he should himself come and work in the Muniment Room after his daily work at the Museum was ended. He was appalled by what he found. After a brief preliminary examination he reported not only that not a single document had any mark or stamp on it identifying it as the property of the Dean and Chapter, but also that as far as he could judge from those which he had examined the whole collection "was in a terrible condition of decay from damp, mildew and attacks of beetles," and that unless immediate steps were taken, in another generation a large part of the collection would have faded beyond recovery. Dr. Bradley at once took action; Dr. Scott and his assistant, Mr. Hunt, were given a free hand and thus began an association with the Muniment Room which was to last for nearly thirty years. From the first the Dean took the keenest interest in the work and begged Dr. Scott to report directly

[1] Part I, Appendix, pp. 171–99. See also *First Report* (1870), pp. ix, 94–7.

to himself if there was anything which he required.[1] Some years later Dr. Scott in a Report to the Dean and Chapter gave some reminiscences of the Muniment Room as he first knew it.

> The state of the first of the two Muniment Rooms [he wrote] as you enter from the turret staircase was ten years ago almost appalling. . . . A portion of the room was partitioned off, forming a narrow passage-way to a staircase leading to the upper chamber, and to the second muniment room, which, at the time of commencing the work, was being used as a storeroom. In the first room a wooden floor was put over the tiled one and a flat ceiling about ten feet from the ground formed the lower of two chambers to which a very dim light was admitted by the lower half of the west window begrimed with dirt and smoke. Round this lower room were ranged presses of which the hinges were loose and the locks broken. They contained flimsy cardboard boxes full of documents and bundles of rolls tied up tightly in thick white paper with red tape. The paper had decayed, and the contents were generally visible, but here and there the bundle was still intact and its contents mouldering for want of air. If any document was required for use a naked candle was brought into the room, lighted, and the hot grease poured on a table which stood in the middle, and the candle stuck upright on it. The "Liber Regalis" wrapped in a dirty bit of white paper on which was scrawled "Liber Regales" was lying on a shelf in an open press near the window.[2]

Such was the appearance of the first room up till February 1895, when it was resolved by the Dean and Chapter to restore it to its original condition, and it now forms one of the most beautiful portions of the Abbey.

Dr. Scott threw himself into the work with enthusiasm. At first it was a labour of love in his spare hours. Later, in 1893, the position was regularised and from 1904 when he retired from the British Museum, he devoted the rest of his life to the Muniments. Of his patient and

[1] The correspondence between the Dean and Dr. Scott, which is preserved in the Muniment Room, shows how constant was the Dean's encouragement and support.

[2] Report to Dean and Chapter, 10 Feb., 1904.

unselfish work, hour by hour and year by year, it is impossible to speak too highly. Gradually order was evolved out of chaos. With his own hands he sorted, cleaned, stamped, numbered, calendared, and indexed over 50,000 separate documents besides two of the great Chartularies. The great manuscript Calendar and Index (which has yet to be published) which he compiled with the most minute accuracy remains his memorial,[1] and only by means of it can scholars make use of the collection. It was a pathetic chance, though perhaps not altogether unfitting, that death should have come to him in the Muniment Room with which his name must always gratefully be connected.[2]

His work was carried on and amplified by the late Rev. H. Francis Westlake, M.V.O., F.S.A., Minor Canon and Custodian (d. 1925), who used the knowledge which he thereby acquired to write his history of Westminster Abbey.[3] It is the standard work on the Abbey and the first since Widmore's to be based mainly upon research among the Muniments. The work of Scott and Westlake meant that an increasing number of students desired to consult the Muniments with the result that the difficulty of finding adequate accommodation and supervision for them became a pressing one. The difficulty was happily solved by a most generous grant from the Pilgrim Trust in 1932. By this not merely was a permanent endowment provided for a Keeper of the Muniments and an Assistant but the Abbey Architect and Surveyor, the late Sir Walter Tap-

[1] Dr. Scott's Calendar describes 54,000 documents, while the Index contains about 133,500 slips. There are three copies of both. One is kept in the Muniment Room, one in the Library and one has been deposited at the British Museum (though not, except in exceptional circumstances, available for students) as a precautionary measure.

[2] In 1933 a tablet to Dr. Scott was placed in the Muniment Room with the following inscription : In honorem viri tam pietate quam diligentia praestantis Edwardi Ioannis Long Scott A.M. D.Litt. Oxon. usque ab a.s. MDCCCXCIII ad a.s. MCMXVIII huius ecclesiae commentariensis que tabularii thesauros summo studio curaque ita ordine digessit ut aliis quoque paterent historicis Decanus Canonicique bene merentis memorem tabellam figendam curaverunt a.s. MCMXXXIII.

[3] H. F. Westlake, *Westminster Abbey*, 2 Vols., 1923.

per, R.A., K.C.V.O., was enabled to devise an ingenious and admirable scheme whereby it was possible to connect the Muniment Room and the Library by means of a new Gallery placed on the top of the East Cloister. At the same time the cases in the Muniment Room were rearranged. The result has been not merely to give a far less crowded appearance to this beautiful room but at the same time to enable this great collection to be housed to the best advantage and thereby, together with the remodelling of the Library and the addition of the Gallery, to give effect to the object which prompted the Trustees of the Pilgrim Trust to make their most generous benefaction.[1]

III

It is rather difficult to know how to classify the Muniments of Westminster Abbey for the purposes of this paper. Perhaps the simplest way will be to divide them under two main heads; firstly, those relating to the Monastery down to the time of the second suppression in 1559, and secondly, those relating to the Collegiate Church of St. Peter's, Westminster, as established by Queen Elizabeth in 1560.

If, then, we deal with the *Monastic Records* we may subdivide them under the following heads:

(1) Royal and other Charters and Deeds.
(2) Court Rolls and Manorial Accounts.
(3) Chartularies.
(4) The Obedientiary Rolls.
(5) Historical Manuscripts.
(6) Miscellanea.

(1) Royal and other Charters and Deeds

There are eighteen Saxon or pre-Conquest documents in the Collection.[2] As is perhaps inevitable, many of these are

[1] See *Westminster Papers*, No. I, *op. cit.*, pp. 17–19.

[2] The majority have been printed by Birch (*Cart. Sax.*) and transcribed in *Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon MSS.*, 1874–84, Pt. II, ed. W. B. Sanders and H. James (Ordnance Survey).

suspect. Taking them, however, for the moment at their face value, the earliest in point of date purports to be one of 693 by which Agelric the Bishop grants land at Battersea ("in Batrices ege") to Westminster. The next is the well-known grant by King Offa, dated 785, of land at Aldenham to the Convent in Thorney [1] "in loco terribili, quod dicitur aet Westmunster." The remainder are grants of either lands or privileges from the Kings Edwy and Edgar, from St. Dunstan and from Edward the Confessor. Some of those before the Confessor are telligraphs, the boundaries of the lands granted being given in Anglo-Saxon. Those of the Confessor are entirely in Anglo-Saxon except for what is usually called his Third Charter to Westminster, which is in Latin.

Recent investigation has shown that not all these can be regarded as strictly contemporary documents, although some, both on palæographical and linguistic grounds, are thought to be genuine. In spite, however, of a brave attempt by Dr. Armitage Robinson to establish its authenticity, it must be conceded that the Offa Charter is at least a century later than the date it bears, nor may it be doubted that the impressive Charter of St. Dunstan with its seal unique (in every sense of the word) whereon Dunstan is described as Bishop of Worcester on one side and Bishop of London on the other, is a work of imagination dating from the early part of the twelfth century. It did excellent work for us, however, for it entirely convinced Archbishop Stephen Langton in 1222 that the claim of the Bishop of London to jurisdiction over the Abbey could not be substantiated and that claim has not since been renewed.[2]

The Latin Charters of Edward the Confessor seem to be founded to some extent on the Anglo-Saxon Writs or Diplomata of which the Abbey series is scarcely to be equalled by those of any other religious house. A recent investigation

[1] The actual words are "dedi sancto Petro et plebi Domini degenti in Torneia," etc.

[2] W.A.M. Charter No. IX; and W.A.M. 12753.

of the hands in which the other documents of the Confessor are written shows it to be probable that all of them date from the eleventh century, and of two of them it may fairly be claimed that we have the actual Writs issued by his Chancery. The others are copies made probably before 1100 and possibly within a few years of the Norman Conquest. The seals of Edward the Confessor have been examined and described by Birch and by Wyon. It will be sufficient to note the fine and clear impression of an unquestionably genuine seal which has been attached somewhat mysteriously to the spurious Third Charter of the Confessor preserved at Westminster.

It should also be mentioned that besides the " original " Writs there are thirteen other Anglo-Saxon Writs of which the originals have disappeared but of which we have copies in our fourteenth-century Chartulary known as the " Westminster Domesday," and there are also four original Westminster Writs at the British Museum. This series of early Writs, totalling in all twenty-six, is only paralleled as far as Religious Houses are concerned, by those preserved in connection with the Monastery of Bury St. Edmunds.

The post-Conquest Writs and Diplomata of William I and his successors up to Henry I are of varying quality and have mostly been examined and described by Dr. Armitage Robinson.[1]

The Confirmatory or Inspeximus Charters and Letters Patent for the lands and privileges of Westminster form a series in which every sovereign is represented down to the Dissolution, with the exception of William II, John, Edward II and Henry VI. Besides these, there is a considerable number of royal documents of the twelfth century, and these not unnaturally increase with the reign of Henry III, the builder of the present Abbey Church.

A very large number of the originals of the Chancery enrolments of Charters and Patents benefiting the Abbey

[1] *Flete's History of Westminster Abbey*, pp. 15, 16; *Gilbert Crispin, Abbot of Westminster*, pp. 125 *et seq.*

have been preserved; they deal with an immense variety of topics. Among them are several which concern more particularly the Abbey Church itself—such as grants relating to St. Edward's Shrine and the Anniversaries of members of the royal house, especially those of the Queens of Edward I, Richard II and Henry V. There is also the interesting Inventory of the Jewels at St. Edward's Shrine (1267) which the King was forced to "pawn"—and subsequently redeemed—in order to meet his pressing necessities and those of the realm. The seal is in an extremely interesting seal-bag.[1]

But if the majority of the important early documents are of royal origin there are nevertheless many others of great interest. The most notable is perhaps Geoffrey de Mandeville's Foundation Charter of Hurley Priory[2] (which he subsequently made a cell of Westminster), together with a later one of his and one of William de Mandeville giving lands to the same Priory. There are in fact no less than 581 charters and deeds connected with Hurley preserved among the Muniments.[3] In this connection we may note that the acquirement of our main later properties—notably Luffield Priory and St. Martin le Grand, both in connection with the endowment of Henry VII's Chapel—meant the addition to the Muniments of several hundred early documents which had no previous connection with Westminster but are entirely concerned with those properties.

Side by side with these there are deeds of all descriptions, grants, leases, rentals, acquittances, petitions, letters, disputes and so forth—again to be numbered in their hundreds—relating to tenements and families not only on the Abbey

[1] W.A.M. 9464: "pro nobis et regni nostri imminentibus necessitatibus . . . quorum partem iam vendimus partem obligavimus et alia intendimus pro eisdem necessitatibus obligare." Cf. W.A.M. 9464* and 9465—the record of the restitution of the jewels.

[2] W.A.M. 2001.

[3] See F. T. Wethered, *St. Mary's, Hurley* (1898), and *Lands and Tythes of Hurley Priory* (1909), wherein are abstracts from nearly all these charters.

properties in London and the country, but in many other places and dating from the twelfth century onwards. These by no means concern only the Abbey, but touch private individuals as well. There are very few counties which are not represented in the collection except those in the extreme north and south-west of England.

All these are exclusive of, but complementary to, the Manorial Account and Court Rolls in the collection.

(2) Court Rolls and Manorial Accounts

There are over 3,800 of these. They date mainly from the late thirteenth century and the great majority of them are of pre-Dissolution date. In some of the Manors the Rolls continue into the seventeenth and eighteenth and even the nineteenth century, but a large number of the later rolls were handed over to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in 1870.

The Rolls concern about 100 Manors in 20 counties. The greater number of these Manors were situated in the counties of Middlesex, Worcestershire, Gloucestershire, Rutland and Oxfordshire. The Manor of Islip, Co. Oxon., for example, which was given to us by Edward the Confessor because he was born there [1] and of which the advowson still belongs to the Dean and Chapter, has ninety-six Court Rolls (apart from Manorial account rolls) of pre-Dissolution date and the series continues with seventy-three further rolls until 1803. The Launton Court Rolls in the same county also extend with certain gaps from 1287 to 1804.[2] The bulk of the other Manors were in the counties of Essex, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire and Surrey. These Rolls, though they have been calendared, have been but little examined.

[1] "Domesday," f. 45.b. (Muniment Book 11).

[2] 82 Manorial Account Rolls (1267–1369); 262 Court Rolls (1287–1804).

(3) Chartularies

The principal Westminster Chartularies have been described and their contents summarised by Dr. Armitage Robinson.[1] It is therefore unnecessary to do more here than briefly mention those which remain among the Muniments and add a few additional notes.

(*a*) *The Westminster "Domesday": Muniment Book 11*

This consists of 655 folios,[2] written at the beginning of the fourteenth century with many later additions up to 1445 and containing copies of charters, papal bulls, etc., of which many of the originals no longer exist.

This Chartulary has been fully calendared and indexed by Dr. Scott.

(*b*) *Muniment Book 12*

This is a large parchment folio volume dating from the early part of the fifteenth century and containing an index of the Papal Bulls in the possession of the Abbey and copies of the documents of the contest between the Abbey and the Dean and College of St. Stephen's Chapel.

This has not yet been fully calendared or indexed.

Unfortunately of the 208 Bulls and other Papal Instruments mentioned in the Index and dating from Paschal II very few originals have survived. The earliest one relating to Westminster is one of Pope Clement III of 1189, confirming lands and privileges. The greater number of these bulls are described as being then kept in the "prima cista." This chest and its contents seem to have disappeared even before the Dissolution, for in 1537 the Abbot's Receiver in an enquiry concerning Appropriations referred to "illa cista ubi bulle papales erant." Fortunately a number of them were transcribed into our Domesday and are thus preserved.[3]

[1] *The Manuscripts of Westminster Abbey*, pp. 93–102.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 93–4. The folios have since been renumbered.
[3] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 95.

(*c*) *The Liber Niger: Muniment Book 1*

This consists of 151 folios and dates from the later part of the fifteenth century. It is a kind of supplement to our Domesday and its contents are of the most diverse character.

It has been calendared by Dr. Scott and indexed. Recently the Calendar was revised and edited and it is now ready for publication.

It may here be mentioned that the Chartulary noted by Dr. Armitage Robinson as "not now to be traced" has recently been discovered at the College of Arms.[1] It is about the same date as the *Liber Niger*, and the contents are nearly identical.

(*d*) *Muniment Book* 3

A large folio containing a selection of documents relating to Appropriations. Early sixteenth century.

This has not yet been fully calendared or indexed.

(*e*) *The Chartulary of St. Martin le Grand, London: Muniment Book 5*

This late fifteenth-century Chartulary was not described by Dr. Armitage Robinson. It has recently been calendared and indexed.[2]

(*f*) *The Chartulary of Luffield Priory, Co. Beds: Muniment Book 10*

This also was not described by Dr. Armitage Robinson. It has not yet been calendared or indexed.[3]

(4) The Obedientiary Rolls

The Obedientiary Rolls are the most complete set of these Benedictine records which exists in England. They number in all between 3,500 and 4,000 rolls and

[1] Robinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 101–2 (No. VII). It is, as Dr. Robinson supposed, the book referred to by Widmore and Stanley.

[2] For contents, see Appendix. [3] *Ibid.*

extend (roughly) from the end of the thirteenth century to the Dissolution of the Monastery in 1540. Something over a quarter of these are duplicates, for the custom at Westminster was for each Obedientiary to render his accounts in duplicate for the annual audit. The fine collection at Norwich numbers 1,500 in all, and Durham has about the same number.[1] The Westminster collection consists of the Account Rolls of the Sacrist, the Infirmarer, the Almoner, the Chamberlain, the Cellarer, the Refectorer, the Treasurer and Domestic Treasurer, and the Monk Bailiff. There are also the Rolls of the Wardens of the Lady Chapel, of the New Work (i.e. the rebuilding of the Nave), of Queen Eleanor's Manors and of the Manors granted to commemorate the Queens of Richard II and Henry V, and the Rolls of the officials of the Abbot's Household.

This unique collection was extensively used by the late Bishop of Worcester (Dr. E. H. Pearce) for his invaluable *Monks of Westminster* and by the late Rev. H. F. Westlake in his account of the various officers of the Monastery in his *Westminster Abbey*.[2] The Rolls of the Warden of the New Work, the only series of medieval "fabric" rolls which the Abbey possesses, were minutely examined and brilliantly summarised by the late Rev. R. B. Rackham in *The Nave of Westminster*.[3] From these a good impression can be obtained of the scope and variety of the information available in these account rolls. But their very number constitutes something of a problem. They are for the most part in almost perfect condition and the greater number of them measure anything from two to ten feet or more in length.[4] To publish them in full—apart from the question

[1] H. W. Saunders, *An Introduction to the Rolls of Norwich Cathedral Priory*, pp. 18 *et seq.* The Norwich collection contains sixty thirteenth-century rolls.

[2] Vol. II, pp. 273–417.

[3] *Proceedings of the British Academy*, Vol. IV.

[4] The longest actual roll the Abbey possesses is a Roll of Lands belonging to the Abbey in 1654. It contains 63 membranes and is 96½ feet in length (W.A.M. 18244).

of expense—would inevitably involve a great deal of repetition, for the same items appear year by year, although of course they are subject to slight variations. On the other hand, there is necessarily something unsatisfactory in publishing even the fullest of extracts. Further, a large number of what we may perhaps call the " plums " have been abstracted from them and published either in the books mentioned or elsewhere. This is not to say, however, that there is not a great deal of patient work still to be done on them. To take but one example, I have myself for many years been noting every reference in them to the Abbey Church and its internal decoration and fittings and to the topography of the Conventual buildings. These are but two subjects out of many which may be studied in these rolls. They give a picture year by year of the inner working and administration of a great Benedictine Monastery and one is struck by the immense size and complexity of the organisation. It was the custom at Westminster, and no doubt elsewhere, to give as many of the brethren as possible some definite secular employment. Each office was a kind of miniature self-contained Government Office, and to it was assigned a certain number of the Abbey properties, tenements and annual payments of all kinds. Out of these the department had to be run. The annual income of the Cellarer's office, alone, for instance, amounted at the latter part of the fourteenth century to about £100 per annum. The method may have been wasteful and capable of much reform, but on the whole one gets the impression that the wheels did in fact go round. If the expenses were occasionally in excess of the receipts, nevertheless it is rare to find an Obedientiary badly in debt. The accounts of each office were kept with scrupulous accuracy and care and it is quite usual to find the auditors' " et sic quietus est " written at the bottom. This annual rendering of accounts continued almost to the end. It was only in the last few troubled years that accounts are found to be left unbalanced and that there are any marked traces of inefficiency.

(5) Historical Manuscripts

Under this head may be grouped:

(*a*) *Coronation and Funeral Records and Manuscripts connected with the Installations of the Knights of the Bath.*

These vary from such things as a disclaimer from John de Chishul, Bishop of London, that by his presence at the Funeral of Aveline, Countess of Lancaster in 1274 he has any intention of derogating from the rights and privileges of the Abbey as an exempt House,[1] to a payment of £5 from the Scaffold money at the Installation of the Knights of the Bath in 1725 for a petticoat for the Wax Effigy of Queen Mary II.[2]

Perhaps the most important are the Roll containing part of the Coronation Service of one of the Edwards (probably Edward II), which describes the robing and anointing of the King and the actual crowning together with the words accompanying each part of the ceremonial [3]; and the acknowledgment by the Abbot and Convent of the receipt from King Richard II of an eagle of gold garnished with jewels wherein is enclosed the precious relic known as the "Ampulle," to be redelivered to the King at his pleasure and to remain after his death among the Regalia, then kept at the Abbey.[4]

A large part of these manuscripts is concerned with the interminable quarrel between the Heralds and the Abbey Officials as to the distribution of the hangings, palls, etc., used at state functions, and this was regularly renewed after each function until a final settlement was reached—as far as funerals were concerned—in 1758 [5]; and with orders from the Lord Chamberlain's Department to open the Royal Vaults in Henry VII's Chapel for successive funerals. We may also mention the quite exceptionally interesting depositions of the witnesses as to Henry VI's

[1] W.A.M. 12771. [2] Precentor's Book.
[3] W.A.M. 5667. The *Liber Regalis* is preserved in the Library.
[4] W.A.M. 9482. [5] W.A.M. 6342.

wish to be buried in the Abbey Church, which record the actual words spoken by the King when he visited the Church to choose a place for his tomb.[1]

(*b*) *The Lady Margaret Beaufort MSS.*

The Lady Margaret was intimately connected with the Abbey and, as is now known from an entry in the Refectorer's Roll for 1509, actually died in the Abbot's House.[2] It is probably for this reason that there are a great many of her private papers preserved among the Muniments. The most interesting are the series of household books of her second husband, Sir Henry Stafford,[3] which give the daily expenditure, food provided and names of the guests entertained at his various Manors. There is also the correspondence of her Steward, the well-known Sir Reginald Bray, with various persons.[4] Four of these letters were published by Dr. Armitage Robinson and two of these from Oliver King, Bishop of Bath, are of exceptional interest, for they show that the King's masons, Robert and William Vertue, the former of whom was almost certainly the "architect" of Henry VII's Chapel, were sent by Bray to design the vaulting for Bath Abbey and that they promised that "nowe ther shal be noone so goodely neither in england nor in france."[5]

These letters and the rest of the Lady Margaret MSS. were certainly in the Muniment Room in Widmore's time and there is no reason to suppose that they ever formed part of the national records kept at that time in the Chapter House.

(*c*) *The Collection of Jewish Shtarrs.*

There are nearly 200 Shtarrs and almost as large a number of analogous documents such as lists of debts,

[1] W.A.M. 6389**.
[2] W.A.M. 19606.
[3] W.A.M. 12181, etc.
[4] W.A.M. 16016, etc.
[5] *Somersetshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. LX, 1914, Part II, pp. 1–10.

registers of Bonds, royal Precepts to the Chirographers of Norwich and so on.

The reason for the presence of this collection in the Muniment Room is not apparent. They were certainly there in Widmore's time, for he removed them from the vast chest traditionally known as the Cambridge Ark in which they were apparently placed in the thirteenth century, and put them in the cupboards in the Muniment Room. It is interesting to note that in 1909, when some repairs were being made to this chest, a secret hiding-place was found which contained an inventory of the vessels in the Abbey Refectory dated 1344 and a quitclaim of land at Knightsbridge dated 1353.[1]

(*d*) *Miscellaneous.*

These may be subdivided into (i) General, (ii) Westminster.

(i) *General.*—Among the first may be mentioned the Customers' Roll for Bristol which contains the entries referring to John Cabot,[2] a collection of deeds in skippets which were found by Sir Gilbert Scott in 1849 in the narrow space between the Chapter House and the Chapel of the Pyx,[3] an immense Roll of Denizens containing the names of foreigners resident in England in 1543–4 and signed by Henry VIII,[4] lists of the House of Commons in 1624,[5] and of H.M. ships and their commanders in 1666,[6] and many other manuscripts of an equally diverse character.

In 1907 some correspondence took place between the Dean of Westminster and the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records with reference to some of these documents.[7] The Deputy Keeper claimed that some at least of them were

[1] W.A.M. 9468 * and W.A.M. 16179 *. [2] W.A.M. 12243.

[3] See *Gleanings*, pp. 51–2. Scott describes how he squeezed into this space and "found its floor heaped up several feet deep apparently with stones and rubbish. While standing on this heap, I was puzzled by finding it spring beneath my feet, and stooping down and clearing away a little rubbish, what was my astonishment at finding that I was standing on a large heap of parchment rolls."

[4] W.A.M. 12261. [5] W.A.M. 12271. [6] W.A.M. 12281.

[7] *Royal Commission on Public Records, op. cit.*, pp. 116–19.

Public Records which had drifted into the Muniment Room owing to the proximity of the Chapter House. In part the claim was based upon a misconception due to the fact that when Widmore classified the contents of the Muniment Room he broke up the original bundles and reclassified a large number under various headings, including one which he called rather unfortunately " State and History." Many of these documents can in fact be shown to have been always part of the Abbey collection and to have originally belonged to the Lady Margaret MSS. and other groups of Abbey Muniments. On the other hand, there is no doubt that others such as the deeds in skippets and the Customers' Roll for Bristol are not properly Abbey Muniments.

(ii) *Westminster.*—Here we must mention the counterpart of the lease of a house adjoining the old Lady Chapel which was granted a few months before his death to Geoffrey Chaucer by the Warden of the Lady Chapel.[1] Chaucer was succeeded in it by his son and the subsequent history of the house can be traced for many years in the Rolls of the Warden of the Lady Chapel. It was finally swept away in the building of Henry VII's Chapel.

There are also the entries of the payment of Caxton's rent in the Almonry in the Sub-Prior's notebook and in the Sacrist's Rolls.[2] It is very interesting to see how gradually he required more space until finally he took a room over the gateway into the Almonry and this enables the site of the " Red Pale " to be fixed with precision.

Among the Royal Autographs or signs manual are those of Edward IV,[3] Richard III,[4] Philip and Mary,[5] and Elizabeth [6] and most of our later Sovereigns. There is also a curious signature of the Lady Margaret Beaufort who, writing to the Abbot, signs " Margaret R." at the head of the letter—the " R " in this case standing for Richmond.[7] Other notable autographs are those of the Protector Somer-

[1] W.A.M. LVII. [2] W.A.M. 33289. [3] W.A.M. 9612.
[4] W.A.M. 9482. [5] W.A.M. 18056.
[6] W.A.M. 14177 * and 57061. [7] W.A.M. 4582.

set,[1] a letter from Cranmer asking for the admission of a boy into Westminster School,[2] a document signed by Sir Christopher Hatton, Burghley and Walsingham,[3] a large number of other Burghley signatures, and those of John Milton Senior,[4] Bradshaw the regicide,[5] who inhabited the Deanery during the Commonwealth, and Christopher Wren.[6]

(6) Miscellanea

Before completing our survey of the Monastic Manuscripts we may draw attention to the extraordinarily interesting collection of letters of Abbot Walter de Wenlok (d. 1307) which, together with a mass of other documents referring to his Abbacy, enabled Dr. Pearce to write his *Walter de Wenlok*[7] and thereby provide a most valuable study of the Monastery in the reign of Edward I. We must also mention the discovery in 1908 of a box apparently of rubbish which was hidden away underneath one of the great thirteenth-century chests. Upon examination this was found to contain among other things a mass of small pieces of paper with fourteenth-century writing upon them. They were skilfully put together by the Rev. R. B. Rackham and proved to be letters written from Avignon by John Bokenhull, a monk of Westminster, at the request of our former Abbot, Cardinal Simon Langham, and gave us quite invaluable information concerning the rebuilding of the Nave of the Abbey-Church.[8] Langham died soon after and left benefactions to the Abbey amounting to no less than £10,800. Among the Muniments and also in the *Liber Niger* there is preserved an inventory of his goods and a list "probably unique of its kind, of more than a hundred of his books."[9]

[1] W.A.M. 6590. [2] W.A.M. 43047. [3] W.A.M. 25320.
[4] W.A.M. 9588. [5] W.A.M. 43192. [6] W.A.M. 24838.
[7] *Walter de Wenlok*, E. H. Pearce (1920).
[8] Dr. Scott's Report to Dean and Chapter, 26 Dec., 1908. Cf. W.A.M. 9231, etc.
[9] W.A.M. 9225, 9226, and *Liber Niger*, f. 146b. Cf. *The Manuscripts of Westminster Abbey*, pp. 4–7.

It has been mentioned above that the greater number of our collection of Papal Bulls for Westminster has disappeared. On the other hand we are fortunate in having several original Papal Bulls referring to St. Martin le Grand and Luffield Priory, which came when those properties were granted to us.[1] But among the Muniments there is a large amount of material dealing with the Papal Court ; indulgences, dispensations, notarial instruments, letters, and so on, dealing with such general matters as the confirmation of privileges, detailed expenses incurred by newly elected Abbots on their journeys to Rome to obtain confirmation of their appointments, collection of tenths, etc.

Together with these there is much that deals with more purely domestic concerns, such as the loans made to the Abbey by the Florentine merchants in the thirteenth century, the lawsuits—so dear to the medieval mind—notably with the Dean and College of St. Stephen's, Westminster—or concerning the right of sanctuary, and the relationship with the daughter houses of Hurley, Sudbury and Malvern. One cannot but admire the skill with which the Prior and Convent of Malvern gradually obtained freedom to work out their own concerns without interference from the mother church of Westminster, while retaining the power to invoke her assistance in order to crush the Bishop of Worcester should he attempt to interfere with what they conceived to be their rights and privileges.

Occasionally, but not as often as could be wished, for Westminster, of course, was exempt from visitation, one gets sidelights on the inner life of the Monastery. The late Rev. H. F. Westlake was fond of pointing to an entry in the Infirmarer's Roll for 1334–5. Brother Walter Twining, it appears, thought that a little wine would be good for his health and persuaded the Abbot and the Prior to give the necessary permission. The Infirmarer, perhaps, thought otherwise, for he entered on his roll that he had spent

[1] A particularly fine example is a Bull of Innocent III addressed to Luffield Priory on 26 May, 1214 (W.A.M. 3012).

" xs " in wine for Brother Twining " quia non potuit potare cervisiam ut dicit." There is also among the Muniments a most extraordinary draft of a petition from an anonymous monk to Pope Leo X. This monk had been accused by the Prior of theft. This so preyed on his mind that he retired to the Infirmary with " a sycnesse which held me iiij yeres." At the end of this time the Abbot remarked one day in chapter that the monk in his opinion was " a great dyssymaler and was no more syck than his horse." This was too much for the outraged monk, who " incontinent w^{t} sutche small comfortis as I had and purchased of my ffrendis I did send for Mr. Doctor yarkeley, doctr barlet. Doctr ffreman, Mr. Grene, Mr. Pawle, which opynly did prove me to be infected with dyvers sycknesse whereof the lest were able to kyll a Ryht strong man " and he therefore felt justified in asking that he might have the next vacant benefice belonging to the Monastery.[1]

Very much more might be quoted, but perhaps enough has been said to indicate that the Muniment Room at Westminster contains material which enables the inner working of a great Benedictine Monastery to be studied with a fullness which perhaps can hardly be paralleled elsewhere in England.

IV

We may now turn to the *Collegiate Records*. These can be treated much more briefly.

They may be subdivided under the following heads:

(1) The Register Books.
(2) The Accounts.
(3) The Archives of Westminster School.
(4) Private Papers.
(5) Coroners' Inquisitions.
(6) The Chapter Books.

[1] W.A.M. 5447: it is dated 1518.

(1) The Register Books

These consist of sixty-four large bound manuscript volumes of about 400 folios each into which was copied every document, patent, presentation or lease which passed under the seal first of the Abbot and Convent and afterwards of that of the Dean and Chapter from 1485 to 1846, with the exception of the years 1641 to 1660. Each volume has a rough index of names, but they are now being thoroughly calendared and indexed.[1] The properties dealt with are mainly, but by no means entirely, those in Westminster and London. In many instances the original leases have also been preserved elsewhere among the muniments.

(2) Accounts: Treasurers' (1560–1858),[2] Stewards' (1564–1858) and Receiver-Generals' (1584–1858) Accounts, together with sets of vouchers for almost every year from 1560 to 1858

These accounts which were entered year by year into parchment books and signed by the whole Chapter at the annual Audit Chapter provide information of the most varied character. Taken in conjunction with the Obedientiary Rolls, for instance, they furnish an almost continuous series of wages and of prices of food, building materials, light and fuel at London rates from 1260 to modern times, with the exception of the years 1538–60 and the Commonwealth period. The Treasurer's Accounts, again, not only contain the summarised record of everything bought by him for the Abbey but a complete list of the College Establishment from the Dean to the Sweepers and the wages paid to them year by year from the foundation of the College by Queen Elizabeth to modern times.

[1] The Calendar has reached (Dec., 1935) Vol. 21 (1678–83) and the Index Vol. XIII (1625–9).

[2] The Accounts for the year 1663–4 are missing. They are, however, in the British Museum, Harl. MS. 4184, and have been printed in full in *Londinium Redivivum*, J. P. Malcolm, Vol. I, p. 245.

The details of expenditure are to be found in the vouchers of the tradesmen of which the Abbey possesses what is perhaps an unique collection. They cover every trade which supplied and served the College establishment, which in this case, it must be remembered, includes the needs of a great and famous Public School. Thus besides the ordinary bills of the butcher, baker, brewer, glasier, and so forth, there are the bills for the annual Latin Play at the School in the time of Queen Elizabeth and those for the work on the fabric of the Abbey done under the direction of Sir Christopher Wren and certified by him, and for the building of the Western Towers. No other large institution, college, school, or hospital appears to have so complete a series.

(3) The Archives of Westminster School

These, as we have noted above, are mainly to be found among the Treasurers' and Stewards' Accounts. But in addition there are the entries in the Almoners' Accounts referring to the pre-Dissolution School, Elizabethan and later "commons" lists, two of Dr. Busby's Account Books, many Commonwealth petitions asking for the admission of boys to the School and seventeenth-century "parentelae" giving the names and parentage of boys elected on to the Foundation as Kings or Queens Scholars. The later Admission Books, Buttery Books, etc., are, however, in the keeping of the Head Master.

(4) Private Papers

There are among the Muniments a very large collection of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century letters, papers and legal documents of all kinds which have only an incidental connection with Westminster. They are, in fact, the private and business papers of certain allied families who held between them the offices of Chapter Clerk and Receiver-General of Westminster Abbey from about 1628 to 1730. On the death of the last of these the whole collection seems to have been left behind in the Chapter Clerk's Office and

thus got incorporated with the Abbey Muniments. They include the correspondence, amounting to 400 letters, of John Nedham, the Chapter Clerk, and members of his family between 1670 and 1710.

There are also some extremely interesting letters written from Jamaica by Sir Thomas Modyford (1620–79) who was Governor of that island 1664–70, and the business papers and account books of Sir Andrew King, a well-known London Merchant of about the same date. From all of these a very curious family history with many ramifications might be constructed.

(5) Coroners' Inquisitions

Until the last few years the Coroner for the City of Westminster was appointed by the Dean of Westminster, and in consequence of this fact a large collection of Inquisitions have found their way into the Abbey Muniments. They date from 1760 to 1880 and number about six or seven thousand. To most of them are attached the depositions of the witnesses, lists of the jurors, etc. They have not yet been calendared or indexed but have been sorted into bundles in chronological order. Some of them are of considerable interest, such as, for instance, the inquest held on Shelley's first wife.

(6) The Chapter Books

These books in which are recorded the Acts of the Chapter form a continuous series, except for the Commonwealth period, from 1540 to the present day.

V

It is true to say that the great majority of the Abbey Muniments are in a good state of preservation. It must be remembered that when Dr. Scott wrote his first report upon them he had only had the opportunity of examining the contents of two of the presses and he was not unnaturally influenced by the general air of dirt, neglect and confusion which

he saw around him. It is, of course, unquestionable that many of those written on paper were damaged beyond repair ; others which might well have been thought to have been so, and appeared to be little better than a mass of mouldering fragments, were patiently pieced together and mounted bit by bit with almost incredible skill by Mr. Hunt and Mr. Lamacraft of the British Museum. To take but one example out of many. In the lowest compartment of the Richard II cupboard a letter was found from John of Gaunt to the Abbot of Westminster requesting him to grant him timber from his Manor of Knowle in Warwickshire for the enlargement of Kenilworth Castle. When this was found the whole of the centre part of the letter was missing. Some months later a fragment was found and proved to be the missing portion and to have the address on the back. The whole letter was then skilfully pieced together by Mr. Lamacraft and it is now as legible as when it was first written.[1] Other documents again—and this applies especially to many of our seals—had suffered from having been rammed down into chests and then, as Dr. Scott used to put it, " the whole lot had apparently been jumped upon " in order to make more room. Lastly, many documents are badly stained, partly from a cause which happily is not likely ever to occur again.[2] And, of course, the whole collection was covered with dust and dirt beyond description. On the other hand, many of the parchment deeds are almost startling in their freshness and some of the Obedientiary Rolls might have been written yesterday and, indeed, seem never to have been unrolled from the day when they were audited until they were calendared by Dr. Scott. The whole collection, apart from innumerable bound books of accounts, leases, etc., is now housed in about 1,050 boxes.

On the whole the conditions are good. The Muniment Room appears to be entirely free from damp and I need

[1] See Report to Dean and Chapter 27 Dec., 1915. It is numbered W.A.M. 57067.

[2] Cf. a curious note by Widmore in W.A.M. 25105.

hardly say from rats and beetles and it is reasonably safe from fire. Dust and dirt remain a problem, but for the most part it only affects the covers of the boxes. It seems impossible to eradicate it altogether. On the other hand, the thousands who tramp through the Abbey beneath and are largely responsible for the dust which is always falling from the roof, do, in fact, help by their very movement to create atmospheric conditions which are almost ideal for documents.

It is difficult to estimate exactly the total number of documents in the collection. The actual number which have been calendared is about 57,500, but in addition to these there are the lease books, various volumes of accounts and a mass of late eighteenth-century manuscripts of which some are being calendared while others still remain tied up in bundles in the Chapter Clerk's Office. Additions are also made from time to time to the collection.

There is, however, another side to the picture. There is unfortunately no doubt that the whole collection was once very much larger than it is at present. It is probable that not less than a third and perhaps as many as a half of our medieval documents have disappeared in the course of time. Some reasons for this loss, apart from what has been said above concerning destruction by damp, etc., may perhaps be suggested. How much must be assigned to the inevitable confusion at the time of the Dissolution of the Monastery in 1540 it is difficult to say. But it is noteworthy that when, during the temporary revival of the Monastery under Queen Mary, Abbot Feckenham was called before the House of Commons and made a speech in defence of the right of Sanctuary at Westminster, he appeared

> " withe no counsaile learned, but onlie one monke attending on him and bearing two old monuments " (*sic*) . . . and expressed the hope " that if he had not other Charters then those to shewe, theie woulde not thereby take advantaige but impute it to the iniquitie of times wherein theie were perished, declaringe howe (as by miracle) those were preserved, being founde by a

servant of my Lord Cardinals [Pole] in a childes hande plaieng with them in [the] Streete." [1]

As a matter of fact, there had formerly been among the Monastic Muniments an exceedingly prolix discussion on the privilege of sanctuary in general and the privileges of Westminster in particular written on 256 folios by one of our monks, William de Sudbury, in the reign of Richard II. This interesting manuscript which was probably lost at the time of the Dissolution is now in a private collection.[2] At the same time there probably disappeared the Inventory of the Vestry taken in 1388 now in the Library of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury,[3] the manuscript copy of the Customary of Abbot Ware,[4] one of our Chartularies,[5] and some of our most ancient charters, all of which are now in the British Museum.[6]

The carelessness of my predecessors and the difficulty of resisting the importunity of distinguished and noble collectors have resulted in other misfortunes. The most notable instance under this head is the Mortuary Roll of Abbot Islip, now happily restored to the Abbey Collection. This roll after being missing for nearly two hundred years was bought and presented to the Dean and Chapter by one of the Prebendaries, the Honble. Robert Drummond, between the years 1732–7. But even then its adventures were not at an end. In 1791 the Dean of Westminster lent it to the Society of Antiquaries in order that drawings might be made from it for *Vetusta Monumenta*.

[1] Bodleian, Rawl. MSS. D. 68. Cf. Stanley, *Memorials of Westminster Abbey*, 2nd ed., Appendix, p. 610, where the Bodleian reference is given incorrectly as Rawlinson MS. Miscell. 68.

[2] Longleat MS. 38. The present owner most kindly allowed me to examine the manuscript and establish the identity of the writer.

[3] Canterbury MS., Y.AX. See the paper on it and transcript by J. Wickham Legg in *Archæologia*, Vol. LII (1890), pp. 195–286.

[4] Cotton MS., Otho C.xj. Printed by the Henry Bradshaw Society, Vol. xxviii. (1904).

[5] *Ibid.*, Faustina A iii. Cf. *Manuscripts of Westminster Abbey* (Robinson and James), pp. 98–100.

[6] *Flete's History of Westminster Abbey* (ed. J. Armitage Robinson), Introduction, pp. 12 *et seq.*

The Dean died a few years later and there being no one to take the initiative it was not until 1906 that the late Canon Beeching (afterwards Dean of Norwich) found the record of the loan. Dean Armitage Robinson having carefully ascertained (as he put it) that the Society "had at last finished with it," it was duly returned at a meeting of the Society held in the College Hall, Westminster, on 31 January, 1907.[1]

There is also in the British Museum a large collection of early charters, which unquestionably at one time formed part of the Abbey Muniments and refer to the Abbots' favourite Manor of Denham, Co. Bucks. They appear to have been transferred by the celebrated Humphrey Wanley, Librarian to the Earls of Oxford, from the Muniment Room to the collection of Edward Harley, second Earl of Oxford, about the year 1724 and are now among the Harleian Manuscripts.

Other instances might be given, but it will be sufficient if we refer to a charter of King Stephen, which was certainly in the Abbey Collection between 1770 and 1780, and a book of household accounts of the Abbot of Westminster at the Manors of La Neyt, Islip and elsewhere between 45 and 48 Edward III which have strayed in some mysterious manner into the Public Record Office.[2]

More tragic is the loss of the superb volume of Indentures concerning the foundation of King Henry VII's Chapel with the King's seals attached which as our counterpart was to remain in the custody of the Abbot and Convent for ever, but which seems to have been acquired by Humphrey Wanley for the Harleian Collection and is now in the British Museum.[3] The King's volume of these Indentures equally

[1] *Proceedings Society of Antiquaries*, 1907, pp. 240, 319. Cf. "The Obituary Roll of Iohn Islip," by Sir W. St. John Hope in *Vetusta Monumenta*, Vol. VII.

[2] *Royal Commission on Public Records, op. cit.*

[3] B.M. Harl. MSS. 1498; an Inventory of the personal effects of Henry VIII in the Palace of Westminster, made 14 September, 1547 (Harl. MS. 1419A), contains the entry: "In the lytle study nexte the

superbly bound and with the seals of the Abbot and Convent attached is, as one would expect, in the Public Record Office.[1]

Finally, certain documents have been deliberately transferred to other Repositories.

These may be grouped under four heads.

(*a*) A collection of Court Rolls, Leases, Plans, Tithe Maps and memoranda of Manorial business amounting in all to 7,000 items and mostly of late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century date which were handed over to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in 1870.[2]

(*b*) A large collection of ancient Writs of the Courts of Common Law, partially consumed by fire, which were discovered in the Abbey Library in 1894. These were presented by the Dean and Chapter to the Trustees of the British Museum, but were subsequently handed over by them to the Public Record Office.[3]

(*c*) Fifty-two Bundles of Quarter Sessions Rolls for the City of Westminster dating from the first half of the seventeenth century. These were handed over to the authorities at the Middlesex Guildhall in 1923.

(*d*) Records of the Peculiar Court of the Dean and Chapter. These consist of Registers of Wills, Original Wills, Inventories, Depositions, Allegations and Interrogatories, etc. These records have been preserved for many years at Somerset House.[4]

VI

I have now indicated to you something of the nature and contents of this great collection and it only remains to

Kynges olde Bedde Chambre: Item A booke of Kynge Henry the vijth his foundation of his Chappell at Westm'."

[1] Exch. T.R. Foundation Indentures, I.

[2] This includes further deposits which were made in 1873 and 1889.

[3] *Royal Commission on Public Records, op. cit.*

[4] See A. M. Burke, *Indexes to the Ancient Testamentary Records of Westminster* (1913), pp. v–xii, and *Royal Commission on Public Records*, Appendices to Second Report, 94b, 95a, 202.

suggest in a few words how best it may be used. The greater part of the collection, as has been stated, has already been calendared and indexed and it is unlikely that very much more will now come to light. At the same time there is still much to be done before the ordinary student can use it to the best advantage. Fortunately the problem of accessibility and adequate space and supervision has been overcome through the labours of Dr. Scott and the generosity of the Pilgrim Trust. The Library is open daily and those who can come in person to work there are welcome to do so under the not very onerous restrictions that the fact that the collection is the property of the Dean and Chapter necessarily entails. Many English, American and foreign scholars do, in fact, make use of it. It should however be stated that the Index consists of names and places arranged alphabetically and not under subjects or centuries. It is therefore sometimes a little difficult to deal with those who are studying any subject of wide application or who wish to see—shall we say?—"all your documents of the fourteenth century." Further, it must be insisted upon that the collection is primarily a business one—the contents as it were of a great estate office and that those therefore who hope to find collections of private letters or sidelights on political history are likely for the most part to be disappointed. The Calendar itself is only very roughly grouped under subjects and counties. Owing to the magnitude of the task Dr. Scott was forced to take each bundle more or less as he found it so that it often happens that the sequel to one document may be separated by some hundreds of numbers from the original—although, of course, they come together again in the Index. I think, too, that I ought to add that many of the more obviously important facts relating to the Abbey itself and the Monastery have been extracted already and published by Dr. Armitage Robinson, Dr. Pearce, the Rev. H. F. Westlake and others. What is offered, as far as this branch of the Muniments is concerned—and this I think is really true of the whole collection—is a vast field for

research by experts who are prepared to spend many months of patient work on the elucidation of various problems on which this material throws light. From my knowledge of the collection I am convinced in my own mind that valuable and lasting use can only be made of it by scholars of this kind, who are able to recognise its importance.

The real problem, as it seems to me, is how to make this collection more widely known to those who will be able to use it to the best advantage, and, perhaps, more especially to the local county historian and genealogist who has little idea of the wide area represented in it. The obvious solution would be, of course, to publish Dr. Scott's Calendar. But this in itself would be a formidable undertaking running perhaps into thirty or more volumes and each of these volumes would have to have a separate index. Unfortunately, too, there are no funds available at the Abbey for publishing purposes, and when some few years ago a suggestion was put out that the Calendar might be published by subscription the response, largely I think through ignorance, was very disappointing and in consequence the matter was not pursued.

The only other solution would seem to be—and it is not very satisfactory—that articles should be written for publication in the transactions of county Record or Archæological Societies either calling attention to the kind of material concerning that particular county which may be found among the Abbey Muniments or printing extracts from the Muniments themselves, and, as far as the Abbey itself is concerned, that the series of books known as " Notes and Documents relating to Westminster Abbey " [1] which was started by Dr. Armitage Robinson should be continued, by subscription or otherwise, by publishing monographs on

[1] Those already published are Robinson and James, *The Manuscripts of Westminster Abbey* (1909); Robinson, *Flete's History of Westminster Abbey* (1909); Robinson, *Gilbert Crispin, Abbot of Westminster* (1911); Robinson, *The Abbot's House at Westminster* (1911); Pearce, *The Monks of Westminster* (1916). These were all published by the Cambridge University Press.

various subjects connected with its history and local topography based upon the Muniments and written by recognised authorities. As Dr. Armitage Robinson wrote many years ago :

> Work of this kind is laborious, and when it is done, it appeals but to very few. Still no labour can be thrown away which helps to illustrate an institution which lies so near to the heart of English life ; nor, again, will it be possible to write the history of Benedictine monasticism in England until Westminster has made its necessary contribution.[1]

[1] " The Benedictine Abbey of Westminster," in *Church Quarterly Review*, April, 1907.

APPENDIX (*see p. 58*).

Luffield Chartulary.

A large quarto volume, bound in white sheepskin, repaired at the Public Record Office in 1928.

There are 257 folios, with three blank unnumbered leaves at the beginning. It is written on parchment, mainly in one handwriting, late fifteenth century. A full page contains 41 lines of manuscript, with wide margins.

The entries are rubricated ; the opening page (now numbered 17) and the first page of entries affecting each parish are ornamented with elaborate initial letters and marginal decorations, delicately executed in gold and colours.

Folios 1–13*d*. Table of Contents (incomplete).

Ff. 14–16*b*. Blank.

Ff. 17, 17*b*. Foundation Charter of Robert second Earl of Leicester (1104–68), to the monk Malgerus. Five Royal Charters follow, Henry I to Edward I.

Ff. 18–22b. Letters or Mandates confirming the privileges of the Priory, from Popes Alexander III to Gregory VIII.

Ff. 22b–36b. Confirmations and Ordinances, episcopal and other, affecting Church property.

Ff. 37–44. Royal Confirmations, Charters, etc., Henry III to Henry VI.

Ff. 45–245*b*. Documents affecting the rights of the Priory in : Silverstone, Akeley, Monkesbarn, Abthorpe, Towcester, Chaldelake, Whittlebury, Dodford, Bedford, Northampton, Middleton, Maidford, Leckhampstead, Wolverton, Blakesley, Heyford, Lillingstone, Westbury, Brackley, Chackmore, Langport, Buckingham, Evershaw, Shalston, Thornborough and Beachampton.

Ff. 246–9*b*. Rental, 1289.

Ff. 250–4*b*. Records of various holdings, undated.

Ff. 254*b*–7*b*. Rental, 1468.

St. Martin le Grand Chartulary.

A quarto volume bound in limp calf, very much worn, the cover inscribed: "Registrum Collegij Sti: Martini magni London."

There are 112 folios, with seven unnumbered and blank ones at the beginning and end. It is written on parchment, the first 95 folios being in a good fifteenth-century hand or, possibly, hands; folios 96 to the end are in a larger and more irregular hand. A full page averages some 40 lines, with fair margins.

The entries are rubricated up to and including folio 57, and a few folios have marginal decorations in gold, red and blue, many initial letters being also adorned with the two latter colours.

Folios 1–6. Table of Contents (incomplete).

Ff. 7, 8. Blank.

Ff. 9–18. Charters, Papal Bulls, etc., granting and confirming lands and privileges, William I to Edward II.

Ff. 18*d*–21*d*. Constitution of the Prebends, and further royal and episcopal charters and letters, twelfth century to thirteenth century.

Ff. 21*d*–8*d*. Writs, Bulls and other instruments touching penance, excommunications and general jurisdiction, twelfth century to Richard II.

F. 28*d*. Letter from the Collegiate Church to the Company of Saddlers proving the antiquity of the foundation.

Ff. 29–35. Charters and letters granting and confirming lands and privileges, Stephen to Edward III.

Ff. 35*d*–71*d*. Dispute between the College and the City of London, concerning Sanctuary and right of search, 1440, with earlier and later instances; also two original Writs appended.

Ff. 72*d*–4*d*. Blank.

Ff. 75–82*d*. Inspeximus Charter, Henry VI.

Ff. 83–7. Documents concerning property at Maldon (Essex).

F. 88. Royal Writs concerning a case of Sanctuary, 1458/9.

Ff. 89*d*–90*d*. Blank.

Ff. 91–5. Presentations, Collations, Appointments, Testamentary documents.

Ff. 95*d*–6*d*. Blank.

Ff. 97–111*d*. Memoranda, with Letters, Writs, etc., touching the right of election of the Master of the Hospital of St. Leonard, Newport (Essex).

THE KING'S SECRETARY IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

By J. Otway-Ruthven, B.A.

Read 9 *January*, 1936

The term *secretarius* was employed in England from the beginning of the thirteenth century in the varying meanings of a confidential clerk, an ambassador, or a member of the king's council. This undifferentiated use of the word had, however, practically ceased by the reign of Richard II, if not earlier,[1] and from 1377 the *secretarius regis* is the holder of a definite office in the king's household, the king's confidential clerk [2] whose primary function is the custody of the king's signet.

The process by which the title of secretary came to be restricted to the keeper of the king's signet is fairly clear. In the first half of the fourteenth century the word began to be used in a more definite sense than it had previously been, and from 1307 to 1377 the keeper of the privy seal is regularly described as *secretarius*. But during this period the various small seals which took the place of the now officialised privy seal in the king's private and personal affairs were being developed, and the title *secretarius regis* would naturally come to be applied to their keepers, rather than to the keeper of the privy seal who was fast becoming one of the great officers of state. By 1367, when William

[1] Dibben, "Secretaries in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," in *E.H.R.*, XXV.

[2] In 1516 Pace was thought to be ill qualified for the position of principal secretary to the king, "for the name of secretary hath the fowndation upon the knowledge of such thinggis as ought to be kept secret" (*Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, II, 633).

of Wykeham, the last keeper of the privy seal to be described as secretary, was promoted to the chancery, the various chamber seals which Edward II and Edward III had employed for the direct exercise of their authority had been replaced by a single seal—the signet.[1]

We know that a secretary appears as soon as Richard II's reign begins, but it has not yet been ascertained whether or not the office was an innovation. It is however clear that there is no trace of an organised signet office with a staff of clerks before 1385, so that if the office of king's secretary existed at all before 1377 it cannot have developed very far. However this may be, from 1377 we can trace an almost continuous series of king's secretaries, the only serious gap occurring during the minority of Henry VI.[2] Although the development of the secretaryship was much interrupted by the turbulent politics of the fifteenth century, the inner continuity of the office during this period is remarkable. In spite of depositions and minorities, involving complete changes of staff in an office which for the greater part of the century remained primarily and intimately connected with the king in his personal capacity, there is no sudden and violent change in its tradition. After the defeat of Richard II's attempt to govern through the signet,[3] it and its keeper settled down to a period of slow but steady expansion which received no great impetus till the reign of Edward IV, by the end of which they were so far established as part of the ordinary machinery of government as to remain at work in spite of the minority of Edward V, although they had been suppressed during that of Henry VI. The conditions of Lancastrian government were not of course favourable to the development of administrative innovations, and the increasing importance of Edward IV's secretaries is a reflection of the greater personal power

[1] See Tout, *Chapters in Administrative History*, V, chapter 17.

[2] The only secretary appointed between 1422 and 1437 seems to have been William Hayton, who was dismissed in 1432, leaving no other trace of his activities (Nicolas, *Acts of the Privy Council*, V, 110).

[3] Tout, *loc. cit.*, V, 207.

of the king which led up to Tudor methods of government.

The primary function of the fifteenth-century king's secretary was the custody of the king's signet,[1] and a reconstruction of his activities is greatly hindered by the lack of records of the office of which he was the head.[2] It seems to be generally supposed that no adequate records were kept by it during this period,[3] but this view is hard to reconcile with the surviving evidence, and appears to be based mainly on the fact that no records of this period have come down to us. This can, however, be explained without supposing that they never existed, for a letter of 15 January, 1618/19 states that "the banquetting house at Whitehall was on Tuesday night set on fire . . . All the records of the signet and privy seal offices are burnt."[4]

That fifteenth-century records of the signet office once existed is made reasonably clear by contemporary evidence. A council ordinance of *c.* 1440–3, approved by the king, directed that "the warrantes to the signet and also the copies of all that shal passe the signet . . . be truely and redily kept . . ."[5] This is, I think, rather an attempt to impose a greater order and regularity upon the office than an innovation, and need not be taken to mean that no records had previously been kept. At all events, in October, 1444, a petition from the secretary set forth that "thoffice of youre secretarye hath no place assigned for the saufgarde of youre bokes and remembrances of the said office which been nowe in right grete multitude and may not goodly be

[1] *Rot. Parl.*, IV, 312; Ancient Petitions, 1210; *Whethamstede's Register* (Rolls Series), I, 162; Baldwin, *Select Cases before the King's Council*, 128.

[2] Issue Roll, 8 Henry IV (*Mich.*), m. 6; *C.P.R.*, 1441–6, 252, 283, 314; 1446–52, 131; Great Wardrobe Account, 36–37 Henry VI, f. 10d.

[3] See Plucknett, "The Place of the Council in the Fifteenth Century" in *Trans. R. Hist. Soc.*, Series 4, I, 182; Perroy, *The Diplomatic Correspondence of Richard II*, xiii; Galbraith, *The Public Records*, 32.

[4] Hist. MSS. Comm., *12th Report*, Appendix I, 103. See also *ibid.*, *MSS. at Hatfield House*, Part VII, 431. Some of the privy seal records which were deposited in the Exchequer have survived, and others were rescued from the fire—see Maxwell-Lyte, *The Great Seal*, 31.

[5] Nicolas, *Acts of the Privy Council*, VI, 318–19.

carried from place to place withouten their grete hurt," and asked that a room in Windsor castle might be assigned to him for this purpose. Though the council ordinance just quoted may have had some connection with this petition, it can hardly have been its cause, for the wording of the petition suggests a very considerable accumulation of documents which could hardly have been got together in the three or four years at most which separated the two documents.[1]

It was not apparently the final custom of the signet office to enrol copies of the letters it issued. Thus in 1480 it could not be determined whether or not a certain letter had ever been issued under the signet, since the king's secretary was dead.[2] But the instructions on which signet letters were based were apparently noted in a book from day to day, and the reference just quoted probably means that the relevant book had been removed among the late secretary's effects. At any rate, the only record of the fifteenth-century signet office which seems to have survived is of this nature. MS. Harl. 433, said to have belonged to Burleigh, seems to have been a register in which the clerks of the signet entered their instructions from day to day, some letters being entered in full, and others briefly noted. There are a number of documents in the ordinary form of letters and writs under the great seal which seem to have misled the editor of the *Grants of Edward V*, but it had been a common practice under Edward IV to draw up signet warrants to the chancery in the exact form in which the letters were to be issued under the great seal, and there is no reason to think that these letters are anything but the drafts of such warrants.[3] The

[1] Printed by Maxwell-Lyte in *The Great Seal*, 122. The ordinance is here said to be probably the cause of the petition, but it can hardly have been more than the occasion.

[2] Baldwin, *Select Cases before the King's Council*, 128.

[3] Nichols, *The Grants of Edward V*, Camden Society, 1854. This contains only a small part of the MS. It is not very clear what Nichols did take the MS. to be. Sir Henry Maxwell-Lyte regards it as probably a privy seal register, although he expresses some doubt as to whether it was a register at all (*The Great Seal*, 27–8). The letters of Edward V which it contains are, however, almost without exception signet letters

manuscript begins with the reign of Edward V and contains documents of both this reign and the next, but it is unlikely that it was an innovation, and it seems safe to conclude that similar records had been kept under Edward IV, and probably earlier, as the petition of 1444 refers to the " bokes " of the office.

In the absence of direct signet records it is necessary to turn to other sources to illustrate the activities of the secretary. We are indeed fully provided with information as to one side of his work by the files of warrants under the signet which exist among the records of the chancery. This use of the signet to procure the use of another seal is, however, only part of the picture, and that not the most important, and of the great numbers of signet letters which had original force and were concerned with internal administration and external diplomacy there is almost no trace in the records of the central administration. A certain proportion has been recovered from the archives of other countries, or from the records of local bodies, monastic registers, formularies, private collections of letters and similar sources. These are unfortunately comparatively few in number, although probably fairly representative in the variety of subjects they cover, and it must always remain difficult to estimate properly the extent of the secretary's responsibilities in this direction.

The duties of the secretary were from the first of a vague and uncertain nature, and in 1592 it was said that there was no office more subject to " cumber and variableness . . . by reason of the variety and uncertainty of his employment and therefore with more difficulty to be prescribed by special method and order." [1] This statement

when the sealing clause is given, and when it is omitted deal with classes of business appropriate to the signet. On f. 107 there is a definite statement that the notes which follow refer to business under the signet of Richard III, and the correspondence of letters in this MS. with privy seal warrants preserved in chancery would follow equally if they were notes of the signet letters which authorised those warrants.

[1] Faunt, " Discourse touchinge the Office of principall Secretarie of Estate," printed by C. Hughes in *E.H.R.*, XX, 499 ff.

applies with equal force at any earlier date, but I will attempt to define his relations to the king, to the great departments, to parliament, and to the council.

To take first his relations to the king, the secretary remained throughout the century a member of the household,[1] and during this period his office shows no tendency to follow the example of older departments and go out of court. In his capacity as the king's confidential clerk he might be sent to make thanksgiving offerings for the king's recovery from illness [2]; in an altogether different field he might be sent, as in 1402, to declare the king's intentions to the commons.[3] Henry VII told the pope that his secretary was "always in attendance on our person," [4] and under Edward IV the secretary was expected to follow the king to war with his own company of men-at-arms.[5]

In the wider field of administration and diplomacy it is evident that by the end of the century there had been a considerable withdrawal of business from the sphere of the privy seal to that of the signet. One great department of business was indeed completely closed to the secretary. An ordinance of 1338 had laid down that the great and privy seals were the only instruments competent to warrant issues from the exchequer,[6] and the exchequer officials appear to have held firmly to this ruling. A few signet letters appear among the exchequer warrants for issues, but those of Edward IV are covered by a privy seal warrant, and under Henry VI we find signet warrants to the exchequer refused, and the bearers sent back to the king "to sue for a warrant in that behalve." [7]

This difficulty did not exist in other administrative departments. The use of the signet as a warrant for the

[1] See below, p. 97.
[2] Gairdner, *Paston Letters*, I, 315 (Jan., 1454/5).
[3] *Rot. Parl.*, III, 468b. [4] *Cal. State Papers* (*Venetian*), I, 583.
[5] *Foedera*, XI, 847. [6] *Ibid.* (*Record Edn.*), II, ii, 1049–50.
[7] Exch. Warrants for Issues, bundle 59 (The case of John van Stratesbourg, Nov. 26, 21 Henry VI); *ibid.*, bundle 57; Nicolas, *Acts of the Privy Council*, VI, 102.

privy seal was never seriously questioned, and the normal course in the fifteenth century was for the signet to move the privy seal, which in its turn moved the great seal. These stages might, however, be shortened: the privy seal might be procured by a council warrant or by the king's sign manual [1]; the great seal by a direct warrant from the signet office. Signet warrants to the chancery, though their use was disliked, were not refused, but they were never used during the fifteenth century to the same extent as they had been under Richard II. Both the privy seal and the signet were from time to time attacked in parliament [2]; the council, which found no difficulty in controlling the privy seal, whose keeper was always one of its most active members, was always ready to attack the signet. The details of the struggle which apparently took place between Henry VI and his council over the control of the signet are obscure,[3] but it seems to have been closed by a royal declaration of November, 1444, by which the chancellor was assured that all grants made from the tenth year of the reign in virtue of bills under the sign-manual, signet of the eagle, or signet of arms, as well as those signed by the chamberlains and clerk of the council were as legal as if the chancellor had had a privy seal warrant, in spite of any statute or other act to the contrary.[4] The growing inefficiency and the ineradicable dissensions of the council at this time might have made possible such a development of the signet as actually took place under Edward IV, had the incapacity of the king not unhappily coincided with that of the council. It is at least a remarkable coincidence that Henry's attempt to assert the signet should have taken place during the secretaryship

[1] Such documents were often further authenticated by the signet, affixed on the back of the Document, but not mentioned in it (Maxwell-Lyte, *The Great Seal*, 155).

[2] E.g. *Rot. Parl.*, III, 471, 528–9. A frequent complaint is that the signet has been used to impede justice, but no evidence as to this is at present available, though it may appear when the series of Common Pleas Writs and Returns in the Public Record Office have been arranged.

[3] See Plucknett, *The Place of the Council, loc. cit.*

[4] *C.P.R.*, 1441–6, 312–13.

of Thomas Beckington, a man of evident ability, and the signet becomes much less important under Beckington's successor, Richard Andrew (1443–55), and is negligible after Henry's first illness in 1453. The secretary, the importance of whose office depended on the extent to which the king could control the administration, could never hope to assert himself against the established power of the great officers of state in the chaotic conditions which existed under Henry VI. He was still so entirely dependent on the king and so little of a public officer that the signet office disappears from the records during the king's incapacity, no signet letters of this date are to be found, and it is only from a few passing references that we can be sure that the secretary himself continued to hold office,[1] though by 1483 the signet office was so far a part of the ordinary machinery of government that it continued to function although the king was a minor.

The functions of the signet office may first be considered in the light of the evidence supplied by signet warrants. Those addressed to the keeper of the privy seal are of no great interest for our purpose : only those to the chancellor are of importance in the development of the competence of the signet.

No great development is revealed by the signet warrants of the Lancastrian kings. Those of Henry V are the most varied and important owing to the absence of the king in France which made the signet office, which accompanied him, the natural means of communication with the administration in England. By no means all of these letters warranted the issue of great seal letters : thus Henry IV instructed the chancellor by signet letter to cause the keeper of the privy seal to issue writs summoning parliament.[2] Under Henry IV a number of letters suggest a doubt in the king's mind as to the validity of signet warrants for some

[1] *C.P.R.*, 1452–61, 143 ; *Whethamstede's Register*, I, 162 ; *Paston Letters*, I, 315.

[2] Warrants under the small seals, series I, file 1360, nos. 1–2.

kinds of grant,[1] but the arrangement of 1406 by which he delegated to the council the duty of approving certain classes of bills to be signed by the chamberlain and warrants under the signet and other mandates to the chancellor, treasurer, keeper of the privy seal, and other officers seems to have been merely a matter of administrative convenience, of no constitutional significance.[2] The immediate signet warrants to the chancellor of Henry VI suggest a lack of energy at the centre which sharply contradicts the tone of the king's ordinance of 1444, and there is little or no evidence of any sustained attempt to control the details of administration in this manner. It is evident that even after 1444 some doubt was felt as to the validity of the immediate signet warrant, as some letters explain that they have been issued under the signet in the absence of the keeper of the privy seal.[3]

Under Edward IV the picture is very different. No class of business is dealt with by means of the immediate signet warrant that could not be paralleled from previous reigns, but the quantity is greatly increased, and the chancellor is no longer left any discretion, many grants being drawn up in the precise form in which they were to be issued under the great seal. It seems to have been largely a matter of convenience whether the signet or the privy seal was used, and although a few letters in the first years of the reign are said to have been given under the signet in the absence of the privy seal,[4] this appears to have been rather a statement of fact than an apology. The great bulk of MS. Harl. 433 shows how important the signet was under Richard III, and though there is an evident extension of its use as soon as Henry VII's reign begins, the practice of the preceding reigns had fully prepared the way for this.

[1] E.g. *ibid.*, 54/1363; 65/1363.

[2] *Rot. Parl.*, III, 572. See Maxwell-Lyte, *The Great Seal*, 160. There is no evidence that this arrangement was acted on, but some warrants to the privy seal of an earlier date bear endorsements showing them to have been discussed by the council (Privy Seal Office, series I, files 1–4).

[3] E.g. Warrants under the small seals, series I, 11/1370; 13/1370; 1/1371; 17/1375. See Maxwell-Lyte, *loc. cit.*, 121–2.

[4] Warrants under the small seals, series I, file 1377, *passim*, 14/1379.

So much for the evidence of the signet warrants. The development of the use of the signet letter as an instrument having original force is much more difficult to trace, owing to the loss of the records of the office. A fair number of original letters do, however, survive, or can be recovered from other sources, and for the reign of Richard II we are particularly fortunate in having a formulary the nucleus of which seems to have consisted of material collected by Roger Walden while king's secretary from 1393 to 1395.[1] It contains documents of the reigns of both Richard II and Henry IV, and is derived from a number of sources which were apparently originally quite independent; but the official letters of the reign of Richard II can be referred with reasonable certainty either to the signet office under Roger Walden or to the exchequer, where the collection which he began as secretary seems to have been continued while he was treasurer and afterwards. It is fortunately easy to distinguish those letters which were either issued or kept by the signet office, as the privy seal is, as far as I have been able to ascertain, completely unrepresented. A check on this part of the manuscript is provided by another formulary in the British Museum, which was evidently compiled independently from the same materials.[2]

The first use of the original signet letter need not be

[1] In All Souls' College, Oxford, MS. 182. I am indebted to the generosity of the Warden and Fellows of the College, who deposited the manuscript in the Public Record Office so that I might study it, and also to the late Miss M. V. Clarke of Somerville College, who in spite of her prior claim to the manuscript consented to my making use of it for this paper. An edition of the manuscript begun under her direction is being completed by Miss D. Legge of Somerville College.

[2] MS. Royal 10 B. IX. This manuscript is of very mixed composition, but ff. 1–8 contain letters identical with, though less abbreviated, and in almost the same order as letters on ff. 207–12 of the All Souls' MS. This section and ff. 254–6 were evidently part of a much larger compilation of secretarial origin, but contain letters as late as 1411, while the secretarial portions of the All Souls' MS. are not later than the reign of Richard II. Although fragmentary in its present form, this formulary gives the sealing clauses which are frequently omitted, without which it is impossible to determine whether a letter was issued under the signet or under the privy seal.

considered at length. In his capacity as a personal official of the royal household the secretary was responsible for the king's private letters. Thus we find that it is under the signet that Richard II commands Lady Ponynges to spend Christmas at court,[1] or congratulates Archbishop Courtenay upon a miracle which has lately been worked at the shrine of St. Thomas.[2] But such letters have no administrative importance. More significant are the directions under the signet to royal officials such as the clerk of the king's ships, the keeper of the great wardrobe, or one of the controllers of the king's works.[3] Again it was under the signet that the king attempted to secure the election of his nominees to bishoprics or other ecclesiastical dignities.[4] The attempt to secure the bishopric of Exeter for Roger Walden in 1395 was stoutly resisted, the dean and chapter maintaining that the letters were forged, as the seal under which they were written was not the king's signet. The king replied that the letters were indeed his, the signet having been *ore tard de nouel fait et chaungez noun sanz tres grande cause et notable*, but later, he says, he thought they had known it well enough.[5] Other letters instruct the treasurer to certify the king how the money granted in parliament to the lieges of Cheshire in compensation for their losses at "Rattecotte-brigge" can best be paid,[6] take steps to end a dispute between the archbishop of Canterbury and the abbot of Westminster over funeral offerings,[7] or ask for oaks for the repair of the roof of the chapel of St. Martin le Grand.[8]

There is a very interesting series of letters written by Richard II from Ireland to the government in England keeping them informed of the progress of the expedi-

[1] All Souls' MS. 182, f. 211, and MS. Royal 10 B. IX, f. 1.
[2] Sheppard, *Literæ Cantuarienses*, III, 50 (Rolls Series).
[3] Cambridge University Library MS. Dd. III. 53, ff. 48d, 57, 79.
[4] All Souls' MS. 182, ff. 209, 258, 365d, and see ff. 209d, 227d, 229; MS. Royal 10 B. IX, f. 4, and see f. 4d.
[5] All Souls' MS. 182, ff. 237d-8.
[6] *Ibid.*, f. 265. [7] *Ibid.*, f. 206d. [8] *Ibid.*, f. 233d.

tion.[1] On this occasion the king's letters were necessarily under the signet, since the Irish chancery was the only other secretarial department to which he had access,[2] but then as later it was usual for the king to correspond with the council under the signet at any time. Thus it is under the signet that Richard sends the council petitions to be determined,[3] or instructs them to reward one Henry Vandrede who has brought the king *un bele presente des parties de dela cestassavoir deux corps des innocens occis soulz herode en la nativitie de nostre seigneur.*[4]

The signet letters of the Lancastrian kings follow the same general lines, differing slightly according to the circumstances of each reign. Appeals for loans [5] or troops [6] are frequent, and under Henry IV a series of letters excuse persons summoned to serve with the king in Scotland or Wales on the ground of their infirmity or for other reasons.[7] Under Henry V, a permit under the signet was necessary for those who wished to leave the army in France.[8] A variety of instructions were addressed to local authorities.[9] There is a series of letters *temp.* Henry IV connected with

[1] All Souls' M.S. 182, ff. 208d, 248–9d, 250d, 253, 255, 255d, 285d, 290d. Most of these letters have been published by Professor E. Curtis of Trinity College, Dublin, in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. 37, section C, no. 14. The sealing clauses are not given, but they are undoubtedly signet letters, as the privy seal was not in Ireland.

[2] See Tout, *Chapters in Administrative History*, V, 222.

[3] Ancient Correspondence, 43/2, 4, 6, 8.

[4] All Souls' MS. 182, f. 210d, and MS. Royal 10 B. IX, f. 6.

[5] Nicolas, *Acts of the Privy Council*, I, 234; Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom*, III, 373; Stevenson, *Wars of the English in France* (Rolls Series), II, 465; Arnold, *Memorials of St. Edmunds* (Rolls Series) III, 245; Council and Privy Seal, file 75.

[6] Bird, *The Black Book of Winchester*, 6; Monk of Evesham, *Vita Ricardi II*, 171; Nicolas, *Acts of the Privy Council*, II, 54; *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1402–5, 291; Harris, *Coventry Leet Book* (E.E.T.S.), 282.

[7] Ancient Correspondence, vol. 43, *passim.*

[8] Hardy, *Rotuli Normanniæ*, 329.

[9] E.g. Sellers, *York Memorandum Book*, I, 236–8; Bickley, *Little Red Book of Bristol*, I, 134; Sharpe, *Calendar of Letter-Book K*, 302; Benson and Hatcher, *History of Salisbury*, 130; Sheppard, *Literæ Cantuarienses*, III, 183; *The Coventry Leet Book* and Gidden, *Sign Manuals of Southampton, passim*; MS. Add. 1250, f. 6; Add. 25288, f. 118d; Harl. 787, f. 10.

the disputes between the bishop of Norwich and the corporation of Lynn, and between the bishop and the prior of Lynn. The bishop is informed that the matter has been stayed till the king and council have decided on it, he is summoned before the council, the officials of the archbishop of Canterbury are ordered to search their archives for a memorandum concerning the case, and finally all the parties receive letters under the signet directing them to observe the settlement which has been made.[1] Again it is under the signet that the dean and chapter of York are ordered to put an end to the concourse of people to the tomb of Archbishop Scrope,[2] or the archbishop of Canterbury and the earl of Arundel to make a record of an agreement made in a dispute between them, "as no man has assurance of his life."[3] The most interesting feature of the reign of Henry V is the series of signet letters describing the progress of the war in France which were addressed to the mayor and aldermen of London and seem to have been intended as propaganda.[4] The letters of Henry VI, while not differing greatly from those of his predecessors in their scope, give the same impression of weakness as his warrants to the chancellor.

With the accession of Edward IV the signet at once becomes more important. There is no change in the variety of business with which it deals, but it is much more extensively and authoritatively used. Local authorities and individuals are instructed to suppress riots[5] or to raise troops for the king.[6] The stages of the dispute between the bishop and citizens of Salisbury are marked by signet

[1] All Souls' MS. 182, ff. 205, 207, 220d, 228. This part of the formulary appears to have been taken from the archives of the bishop of Norwich.

[2] Raine, *Historians of York* (Rolls Series), III, 293.

[3] *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1409–13, 183.

[4] Delpit, *Collection Generale*, vol. I, *passim*.

[5] *Coventry Leet Book*, *passim*; Raine, *Historians of the Church of York*, III, 337; Street, *Bishops and Citizens of Salisbury*, 70; Add. Ch. 56425.

[6] *Coventry Leet Book*, *passim*; Benson and Hatcher, *History of Salisbury*, 158–9; *Paston Letters*, II, 409; Kingsford, *Stonor Letters*, I, 115.

letters.[1] There are a great variety of administrative directions to local authorities. Persons are to be released from prison,[2] "impartial justice" is to be done in cases before them,[3] franchises are to be respected,[4] payments are to be made out of their ferm,[5] they are to aid the king's serjeants sent to make arrests,[6] the commissioners for the tenth granted by parliament are to be assembled and given their instructions,[7] fitting preparations are to be made for the reception of the sister of the king of Scots,[8] the authorities of Yarmouth are to be friendly neighbours to Sir John Paston,[9] and those of Coventry are not to molest John French, the king's servant, who intends to transmute metals.[10] The prior of Durham is given leave to ransom a monk who had been taken prisoner while returning from Rome.[11] One series of letters is connected with a dispute as to the priory of Missenden, and letters are addressed to the sheriff of Buckinghamshire, to the bishop of Lincoln, to the rival claimants to the abbey, and to the tenants of its lands.[12] Other letters thank individuals or corporations for their services,[13] and there are some news letters resembling those of Richard II from Ireland and Henry V from France.[14]

From these instances it is evident that the fifteenth-century king's secretary was concerned in a wide range of administrative business, which gave the post a definite political importance. Though many of these letters were no doubt largely matters of form, there is no reason to doubt that he was personally responsible for the greater part of the administrative business which passed through his office,

[1] Benson and Hatcher, *loc. cit.*, 159, 173; Duke, *Prolusiones Historicæ*, 323, 326.

[2] *Coventry Leet Book*, 340; *Sign Manuals of Southampton*, 11.

[3] *Ibid.*, 12; *Coventry Leet Book*, 424. [4] *Ibid.*, 322.

[5] *Sign Manuals of Southampton*, 6, 8. [6] *Coventry Leet Book*, 496.

[7] *Sign Manuals of Southampton*, 10. [8] Davies, *York Records*, 99.

[9] *Paston Letters*, II, 281. [10] *Coventry Leet Book*, 422.

[11] Raine, *Correspondence of the Priory of Coldingham*, 228.

[12] MS. Sloane 747, ff. 49d, 56, 57d, 58, 64d.

[13] E.g. *Coventry Leet Book*, 345; Hist. MSS. Comm., *Reports on Various Collections*, I, 223.

[14] MS. Harl. 78, f. 3d; Harl. 543, f. 149; Davies, *York Records*, 33.

and though he had not the "liberty to negotiate at discretion at home and abroad" which belonged to the secretaries of the next century,[1] proof is not lacking of the importance which contemporaries attached to the office. Under Richard II bishops asked his help in their affairs,[2] and it was William Pilton, Henry IV's secretary, who was approached by the abbot of Bury St. Edmunds to procure him letters excusing him from attending the council.[3] Under Henry VI the secretary seems to have been a usual channel of approach to the king and council,[4] while under Richard III the authorities of York thought it worth their while to make various gifts to John Kendale, king's secretary, "for the grete labours that (he) has had to our suffreyn lord the Kyng for the wele of thys Cite."[5]

The available evidence as to the diplomatic activities of the signet office is so scanty[6] that it is impossible to come to any definite conclusion as to its importance in this respect. In general, diplomatic letters under the signet seem to have been concerned with comparatively unimportant matters, but till foreign archives have been thoroughly searched for them it is impossible to speak with any confidence of the diplomatic functions of the signet. Under Richard II, Henry IV and Henry V it was usual for instructions given to ambassadors to be sealed with the signet as well as with the great and privy seals.[7] The exact significance of this is uncertain: these documents seem usually to have been

[1] *Harleian Miscellany* (Ed. 1744), II, 265.

[2] All Souls' MS. 182, ff. 207d, 240d, 250d; MS. Royal 10 B. IX, f. 2d.

[3] MS. Cotton, Tiberius B. IX, ff. 157, 157d, and see ff. 121, 124, 150, 157.

[4] See the document printed by Baldwin in *The King's Council*, 533.

[5] Davies, *York Records*, *passim*.

[6] Most of the diplomatic signet letters of the fifteenth century known to be in existence have been printed in Perroy, *The Diplomatic Correspondence of Richard II*; Hingeston, *Royal and Historical Letters of Henry IV* (Rolls Series), and *The Diplomatic Correspondence of Thomas Beckington* (Rolls Series). There are also some diplomatic letters which were not printed by M. Perroy in All Souls' MS. 182.

[7] See Nicolas, *Acts of the Privy Council*, I and II, *passim*; Scott, *MS. Galba B. I*; Hingeston, *Royal and Historical Letters*, I, 348; *Fœdera*, VIII, 232; IX, 345, 628; X, 161.

drafted in the council, and the most probable explanation is perhaps that the signet, as the most personal of the king's seals, was affixed to show that these instructions were really his will. The practice does not reappear after the death of Henry V, and it is unlikely that it indicates that the secretary was at this date very directly concerned with the drawing up of general diplomatic instructions.

The fifteenth-century king's secretary was, however, frequently employed as an ambassador. He does not seem to have been employed in this way in virtue of his office, but only as any other household clerk might be, according to his own ability and qualifications. In particular William Hatteclyffe was constantly employed in negotiations with Brittany, Burgundy and the Hanse towns between 1464 and 1476, and spent a very considerable proportion of these years abroad. These absences of the secretary necessitated the occasional appointment of an assistant secretary to keep the signet, an office which first clearly appears in 1442,[1] though there are traces of it under Henry V.

It remains to consider the personal equipment and standing of the fifteenth-century king's secretary. His standard of education was high. Several secretaries under Henry IV and Henry V were notaries, and two, Richard Holme and William Alnwick, were doctors of laws. After 1437 almost all of them were graduates of an university, usually with degrees in law. Oliver King, a graduate of Cambridge, who, before becoming secretary to Edward IV in succession to Hatteclyffe, had been a clerk of the signet and French secretary, had also studied for some time at Orleans,[2] and Hatteclyffe and Peter Courtenay had studied at Padua.[3] This university education was often supplemented by service in the household of some great lord, lay

[1] *Calendar of Papal Letters*, IX, 281.

[2] Leathes, *Grace Book A*, 97.

[3] Zonta and Brotto, *Graduum Academicorum Gymnasii Patavini*, 1406–1452, Padua, 1922, nos. 1993, 2108, 2134; *Epist. Acad. Oxon.*, II, 442. For this and other references to Courtenay's academic career in Italy, see a paper printed in this volume, below, pp. 101–17.

or spiritual. The household of the archbishop of Canterbury trained many clerks who were later to enter the king's service, and John Prophet, king's secretary from 1402 to 1406, had at one time been the archbishop's *secretarius*.[1] Richard Holme, secretary in 1412, was a member of the household of the bishop of Durham when the bishop wrote to the king that Holme " ad este de grand temps passe un grand officier du pape en la court de Rome et familierement connu de lui seint pere et de tous messieurs les cardinalx et dautres grans de la dicte court pour honurable et prudhomme et de grand vertue." [2] Holme's variety of experience is rather exceptional, but some secretaries had had experience of both lay and spiritual administration before entering the king's service. Thus Thomas Beckington had been in the service of the duke of Gloucester, was dean of the court of arches, and an archdeacon.[3] The promotion of a signet clerk to the secretaryship was almost unknown, and it is evident that considerable experience of responsible administrative work was a primary consideration in choosing a secretary.

The origins of the secretaries were very similar to those of other king's clerks of the same standing. Peter Courtenay, who is described as " of royal stock," [4] is exceptional. As a rule the king's secretaries were drawn either from the sons of the minor landed gentry or were men of more or less humble origin who had worked their way up by their own abilities and had been fortunate enough to attract the attention of some great lord.

Throughout the fifteenth century the secretary remained a member of the king's household, and the surviving household ordinances regulate his position.[5] The fullest account

[1] Churchill, *Canterbury Administration*, I, 23.
[2] All Souls' MS. 182, f. 217d.
[3] *Cal. Papal Letters*, VII, 249–50, 282. [4] *Ibid.*, X, 134.
[5] Nicolas, *Acts of the Privy Council*, VI, 220; Exchequer T.R. Household Books, E 36/206; the *Liber Niger Domus Regis Angliæ*, printed by the Society of Antiquaries in *The Ordinances of the Royal Household* (1790); Gairdner, *Letters and Papers of Richard III and Henry VII*, II, 67.

is that given by the *Liber Niger Domus Regis Angliæ*, attributed to the reign of Edward IV. The secretary, who ranks with the dean of the chapel and the almoner, has "eting in the hall" one gentleman, four clerks, and three persons "wayters on him for all that office." The clerks are the clerks of the signet office, and the persons "wayters" on the secretary seem to be subordinate or apprentice clerks, such as existed in the privy seal office in the previous century.[1]

Besides being fed and lodged in the household, the secretary and his clerks received clothing from the great wardrobe.[2] He seems to have had no regular salary during the fifteenth century, though individual secretaries had grants of annuities. Thomas Beckington and Richard Andrew had annuities of £100,[3] but this sum was unusually large. The anticipatory grant to Oliver King of the office of secretary in 1480 mentions all the "liberties, fees and profits" of the office.[4] These are unfortunately not specified, but it is most unlikely that any regular salary was implied. The greater part of the fees and profits probably consisted of the fees payable to the secretary by those for whom signet letters were written, and payments made to him so that he might facilitate the access of petitioners to the king and council.[5] Corporations made him presents to secure his favour, and he might depend on occasional presents and grants of wardships or sinecure offices from the king. When absent from court as an ambassador he was paid at the rate of twenty shillings a day, and was also given an allowance for the expenses of the clerks whom he brought with him. But

[1] Tout, *Chapters*, V, 77–81. Dr. Hubert Hall has, however, kindly suggested to me that on the analogy of the customs service the "wayters" may have been messengers, though the existence of subordinate clerks in the fifteenth-century signet office is demonstrated by other evidence.

[2] Documents subsidiary to Wardrobe Accounts, E 101/409/3; Gt. Wardrobe Accounts, 17–18 H. VI, f. 43; 19–20 H. VI, f. 19; 22–3 H. VI, f. 81; 36–7 H. VI, f. 8.

[3] *C.P.R.*, 1436–41, 487; 1441–6, 354.

[4] *Ibid.*, 1477–85, 196.

[5] See Baldwin, *The King's Council*, 533.

the greater part of his income appears to have been derived from the rich benefices which fell to his share as a king's clerk. Of the fifteenth-century king's secretaries only two, William Hatteclyffe and Richard III's secretary, John Kendale, were laymen, and the majority were handsomely provided for. Thus in 1406 John Prophet was said to hold benefices worth nearly 1,400 marks,[1] and though not all king's secretaries were so well beneficed, their average income from this source must have been considerable.

During the fifteenth century the secretaryship was clearly only a stepping-stone in the career of the ambitious clerk, to whom the close contact with the king and council which it entailed would give many opportunities of bringing himself into favourable notice. Almost without exception no secretary held office for longer than four or five years. Of the fifteen persons who held office as king's secretary between 1399 and 1500, two were laymen, and so practically disqualified from further advancement, nine afterwards held high office in church or state, and frequently in both, while the remaining four apparently failed to do so only because of early death or political accident. Several of the eight persons who seem to have acted as assistant secretaries during the period were also men of considerable distinction.

There is an evident and progressive increase in the importance of the king's secretary during the century. His position is gradually defined and recognised as the signet establishes itself as part of the ordinary machinery of administration. During the early part of the century the secretary, though sometimes present in the council, was not a councillor, and John Prophet, who had previously been a member of the council with a salary of £100, apparently resigned on becoming secretary in 1402.[2] By the time of Edward IV it was usual for the secretary to be a councillor. But the office of secretary did not under the Lancastrian and Yorkist kings become one worthy of

[1] *Cal. Papal Letters*, VI, 113.
[2] Issue Roll, 7 Henry IV (*Mich.*), m. 10.

the attention of a bishop, and the secretary had always disappeared from that office before his promotion to a bishopric. With Oliver King, however, we seem to be on new ground. King was consecrated as bishop of Exeter in February, 1493, but is described as "Oliver King, the king's secretary," in the following October.[1] It is not, unfortunately, clear that he was still acting as secretary at that date, so that it cannot be confidently asserted that the office of secretary had already become one which a bishop might with dignity hold. But in any case this was not to be long delayed, for though Thomas Ruthal became bishop of Durham in 1509, he remained secretary for six years longer. The first stage in the history of the secretaryship was past, and the great Tudor secretaries of state were about to emerge from the office which had been little more than a confidential clerkship when it first appeared under Richard II.

[1] *C.P.R.*, 1485–94, 457.

ENGLISH STUDENTS AT PADUA, 1460–75

(The Alexander Prize Essay)

By Miss R. J. Mitchell, M.A., B.Litt.

Read 11 *June*, 1936

I

Although Bologna was still the foremost studio in Italy, at least in the study of law, Padua was by the mid-fifteenth century a strong rival, and foreign students were attracted there and to Ferrara by the fame of Guarino da Verona. Indeed, the popularity of the studio of Ferrara was directly due to the appointment of Guarino as the first Professor of Rhetoric there in 1436. Before this date he had been closely associated with Padua, and taught there for many years. In all, some twenty Englishmen took degrees at Padua in the course of the fifteenth century.[1] Most of these were in the faculty of Law, the others were divided between Arts and the newly founded faculty of Theology.[2] Since it was the custom at Padua to record the names of each candidate's "testes," or friends who attended his public examination and "doctoratus," the presence of a number of students is revealed, some of whom did not proceed to a degree at Padua but finished their course in some other studio.

From the year 1402 Padua was under Venetian dominion, and the studio enjoyed special protection and was granted many privileges; for instance, Venetian citizens were for-

[1] See Appendix for the list of names.

[2] Founded in 1424. Before this date, theologians were included in the faculty of Artists.

bidden to study elsewhere and a term of study at Padua was made a qualification for holding office under the Senate. In the middle years of the fifteenth century the Jurists had their school in the Strada di S. Biagio, and the Artists theirs in the Strada di Santa Caterina, but already the latter were finding their quarters too cramped, for the number of students, particularly medical students, steadily increased from year to year. By 1483 the Artists were obliged to move their school to the Casa Bianca della Torre, where the hospice known as "il Bo'" developed into the headquarters of the present university. Here, as in the Jurists' school, it was the custom for the rectors and high officials of the studio, and noblemen among the students, to set up their coats of arms, painted on the walls or roof of the cortile, or carved in stone.[1] Those in S. Biagio have all vanished now, and the others date only from *c.* 1500, so that it is useless to search for the arms of Courtenay or Tiptoft or Langton.

The organisation of the studio at Padua was very similar to that of the parent foundation at Bologna, with a few modifications in favour of the ultramontane students. At Padua these were in a privileged position, for if there should be a dispute between the two rectors, the students were ordered to obey the ultramontane rector. The rector of the "citramontanes" was not supposed to be either a Venetian or Paduan citizen, for it was thought that he would be tempted to use his power in obedience to his local prejudice. Either rector had to be at least twenty-two years old and a responsible person of good character. By the middle of the century it had become customary to elect only one rector for the two Jurist universities, and after 1460 no distinction was made.

In the faculty of Jurists there were four ordinary professors of Civil Law and four of Canon Law, besides the extraordinary professors who lectured on feast days and

[1] Antonio Brillo, *Brevi memorie sulle Univ. di Padova e sugli stemmi ecc. Bollettino delle Consultà Araldica*, IV/18. Roma, 1898.

holidays. When a scholar sought academic honours he had to apply to the head of his faculty, and was examined in the presence of the Prior and the Bishop, or the Bishop's Vicar acting as his deputy. As his " promotores " the candidate chose two or three of his masters from the doctors of the College ; it did not matter if they were absent, or even dead, so long as he could say that he had been their disciple. If he could prove his poverty the scholar might be given his degree gratis,[1] as were all the professors as a matter of course. After his private or " rigorosus " examination came the less alarming public examination to which friends and " testes " were admitted. It was possible at Padua to pass on a majority vote among the doctors of the College ; if the candidate failed and was " reprobatus " he could make a second attempt in six months' time. The ceremony of the " doctoratus " or " laureatus " took place either in the Cathedral or in the Bishop's Palace, and was the occasion for much rejoicing and festivity.

The records for the first half of the fifteenth century have been printed by Zonta and Brotto in a very valuable work, and the same authors have published a book on the theological faculty,[2] of which part I covers the fifteenth century. From 1450 onwards the records are in manuscript ; the most important series being the volumes xxvi–xlvi of the *Beneficiorum Collationes et privilegia doctorum* in the Curia Vescovile ; these are fairly complete, but become very confused, with a number of pages missing, between the years 1458 and 1461. The volume for 1459 is lost. Several of the volumes have been injured by damp and, apparently, by fire, while others have folios badly torn and stained and nibbled by mice so that they are in places scarcely decipherable. For the most part, however, the records are written in a good clear hand, very different from those at Bologna, where the hand changes every six months with the appoint-

[1] G. Zonta and G. Brotto, *Acta Graduum Academicorum Gymnasii Patavini* 1406–1450. Padova, 1922.

[2] *La Facolta Teologica dell'Università di Padova.* Padova, 1922.

ment of a new Prior, whose business it was to record such details as he thought fit, with little regard for form and less for legibility. In the R. Biblioteca Universitaria MSS. 305–19, there is the *Liber Sacri Collegii D. Artistarum acta*, which supplements the information found in the other volumes, but here too a gap occurs, in this case from 1460 to 1462. The records of the theological faculty, printed by Zonta and Brotto, are supplemented by a manuscript in the Museo Civico Correr at Venice.[1]

II

In the year 1461 at least four Englishmen were studying in Padua. First, there was the famous scholar, bibliophile, and ruthless administrator, John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester. He resided in Padua for a year or more, and we have proof that he was there at the beginning of 1461, for Alessandro Martelli, an agent of the Medici, visited him in his lodgings and wrote to Giovanni di Cosimo de' Medici that he had duly delivered to " il conte Giovanni inglese " the letter entrusted to him, adding that the English Earl was waiting for better news of the civil war in England before returning thither.[2] Martelli's letter to Giovanni di Cosimo is dated 3 January, 1461 ; it seems that Tiptoft left Padua for Florence on his way to Rome soon after Martelli wrote.

With Tiptoft in Padua was John Free, whom he had met at Ferrara when he went there to visit the aged Guarino da Verona. Free was studying in Ferrara at the expense of William Grey, bishop of Ely, who had himself attended Guarino's lectures in Ferrara, and who had taken his degree in theology at Padua in 1445.[3] Free forgot the generosity of Bishop Grey when he met Tiptoft, and, dazzled by the Earl's brilliance, attached himself to his household. He dedicated to Tiptoft a translation from the Greek [4] which

[1] MS. 983, fasc. i and ii.
[2] Florence, Archivio di Stato. Medici avanti principati, filza 10, n. 7.
[3] Zonta and Brotto, *Acta Grad. Acad. Gym. Pat.*, p. 388.
[4] Synesius, *De Laudibus Calvitii* ; Bodleian Library MS. Bodley 80.

had been begun for Grey, and a number of *Carmina Bacchi* which are now lost. Free was the most distinguished of all the English humanists who sought inspiration in Italy during the middle years of the century, and the details of his career are too well known to need recapitulation here. In Padua he studied medicine, but we do not know if he took a degree there. We do, however, find that " Johannes fre artium doctor " was present at the " doctoratus " in Canon Law of his countryman John Lee on 22 March, 1461.[1] Tiptoft was not present on this occasion ; presumably he had already left Padua. He, too, may have proceeded to a degree, but the records, as we have seen, are defective for these years, and make no mention of him.

This John Lee is described as the son of Sir Richard Lee, Lord Mayor of London. Sir Richard was a grocer ; he was sheriff in 1452, Lord Mayor the following year, and again in 1469. He died in 1471, and bequeathed £20 to " John Lee doctor of Laws," his son by his first wife Johanina.[2] John Lee was admitted Bachelor of Canon Law at Oxford, 8 May, 1456, after taking his B.A. there in 1450,[3] so he must have been slightly older than the average student at Padua, but it was not uncommon for quite elderly men to study for degrees at the universities, learning side by side with young students ; this is seen in the representations of pupils carved on sarcophagi of famous jurists at Bologna and Pavia.

John Lee stayed on in Padua until 1468 ; probably he was teaching private pupils, for there is no record that he held any post or lectureship in the studio. In 1468, however, he is referred to as " Vice-Rector of the ultramontane and citramontane jurists " when he is present at the " doctoratus " of one Humbert de Montferrat.[4] For this year, 1467–8, an Englishman named John Chelworth was Jurist Rector ; he was also rector of Stepney in the diocese of London, and in 1471 appointed as his vicar John Lee, perhaps the same

[1] *Beneficiorum Collationes*, xxx/153.
[2] P.C.C. 5 Wattys.
[3] Boase, *Reg. Univ. Oxon.*, p. 12.
[4] *Beneficiorum Collationes*, xxxiii/85v.

John Lee who had been his understudy at Padua three years earlier. This Lee exchanged his vicarage in 1473 for the rectory of Ratingdon in Essex.[1]

The last of the four Englishmen at Padua in 1461 was, from the point of view of the studio, the most important, for he was rector of both Jurist Universities. This was Peter Cortenoi, or Courtenay, who was born in or about the year 1433 at Powderham, and was a brother of the Earl of Devon. When he was only fifteen he had been given a dispensation [2] to receive two incompatible benefices, and the following year he was collated archdeacon of Exeter.[3] In 1457 he was described as a "scholar of Civil Law" at Oxford,[4] and in November of the same year he matriculated at Cologne.[5]

From Cologne, Courtenay went on to Padua, and here he was elected Jurist Rector in succession to Francesco Scledo of Vicenza. This Francesco, during his term of office, had made strenuous efforts to reduce the enormous annual expenditure demanded of the rector.[6] Only a very wealthy man could afford to accept the rectorship in these days, and Courtenay succeeded to a position of some embarrassment and difficulty. He soon found that the funds provided would not nearly cover the expenses, and that the studio was already in debt, so he arranged that the cities of Bergamo, Verona and Treviso should all make contributions to the common fund [7] and help to support the studio to which they sent so many students. This temporary expedient relieved the studio from debt, and it seems that the contributions were henceforward exacted annually from the three cities, although at a reduced rate. As rector, Courtenay on many occasions presented candidates for their

[1] Henessy, *Novum Repertorium Londin.*, p. 411.
[2] *Cal. Papal Letters*, X/127.
[3] Le Neve, *Fasti Eccl. Angl.*, I/395.
[4] Anstey, *Munimenta Academica*, p. 744.
[5] Keussen, *Die Matrikel der Universität Koln*, p. 467. (Bonn, 1892.)
[6] Tomasini, *Gymnasium Patavinum* (1654), p. 392.
[7] Facciolati, *Fasti Gymnasii Patavini*, II/13.

examinations, receiving, of course, the customary fee. In the course of only three months he was promotor on nine occasions, so that he must have found this a useful means of adding to his stipend. John Lee was among the candidates for whom Courtenay acted. He was a vigorous and capable man of affairs, as he showed in his subsequent career, and in his year of office did much to improve the esteem in which the Jurist Rector was held.

On his return to England, Peter Courtenay was made a canon of Lincoln and archdeacon of Wiltshire,[1] and he was employed on a variety of missions. In 1478 he was made archdeacon of Exeter, but five years later he was attainted by Richard III for raising an insurrection in the West Country, and had to flee for his life. He took refuge in Brittany, and remained there for two years, until he was able to return from exile after the Battle of Bosworth. Exeter College, Oxford, welcomed him home with a present of five yards of crimson cloth.[2] Almost immediately after his return, Courtenay was made Keeper of the Privy Seal to Henry VII, an office he held until 1487. The same year he was translated by Papal bull from the see of Exeter to that of Winchester. Five years later he died.

III

In November, 1462, an Englishman named Thomas took his doctorate in theology at Padua. Zonta and Brotto, in *La Facolta Teologica*,[3] claim this Thomas as the Augustinian Thomas Penketh, but in Cod. 983 [4] of the Museo Civico Correr at Venice he is described as "Tomas anglicus debekyngtona," and as a canon of Wells. Thomas Penketh came from Warrington, and it is unlikely that he was in Padua as early as 1462. The English Thomas should be identified with Thomas Purviour, or Purveour, canon of Wells and rector of Beckington in that diocese; possibly

[1] Le Neve, *Fasti*, II/124; II/630.
[2] It cost £3 6*s*. 8*d*. Wood, *Antiqu. Oxon.*, etc., I/144.
[3] I/180. [4] Fasc. i/113; ii/4^{r}; ii/54^{v}.

he was a kinsman of Thomas Bekynton, at that time bishop of Bath and Wells.

Thomas Purviour was collated to the Prebend of Ilton in Wells, 14 April, 1450 [1]; he was then B.A., but was not even in deacon's orders, indeed, he was only ordained sub-deacon 18 September, 1456, deacon 18 December, and priest 12 March following.[2] On 3 July, 1456, he was instituted rector of Beckington,[3] but he seems to have neglected his parish, for St. George's church and the rectory were allowed to fall into a terrible state of disrepair. The schoolmaster, Roger Fabell, who became rector in 1463, complained that "the dwelling-house of his rectory and the other houses and buildings of his church" were "so ruinous owing to the neglect of his predecessors" that they would soon be "utterly destroyed." He was given a dispensation "to go away for some years to Westbury by Bristol and keep a grammar school there" to gather funds for their repair.[4]

It is probable that Purviour studied for several years in Padua; he was still in England in July, 1458, but after this Bekynton's *Register* has no further reference to his presence. He became Bachelor of Theology at Padua, 23 October, 1462, and took his doctorate 15 November.[5] It seems that he did not return to England; when he was instituted rector of St. John the Baptist at Ilchester, in June, 1463, it was in the person of his proctor, Master Richard Swan.[6] Soon after leaving Padua Thomas Purviour was appointed a minor penitentiary in the basilica of St. Peter's for the realms of England and Scotland; he stayed on in Rome until August, 1471,[7] when he died and was succeeded by William Sherwood, a young kinsman of John Shirwood, bishop of Durham, fresh from his studies at Bologna.

[1] *Register of Bishop Bekynton*, I/145.
[2] *Ibid.*, II/509, 510, 511.
[3] *Ibid.*, I/270. He resigned 18 April, 1459. *Ibid.*, I/317.
[4] *Ibid.*, I/400–1.
[5] Museo Civico Correr, Cod. 983, i/25.
[6] *Register of Bishop Bekynton*, I/387. He is here described as "Master of theology."
[7] *Calendar of Papal Letters*, XIII/206.

IV

I. A. Andrich in his *De Natione Anglica et Scota iuristarum universitatis Patavinæ ab anno* 1222 *ad annum* 1737 [1] gives 1457–8 as the date of John Chelworth's rectorship of the two Jurist Universities, but this is incorrect; the year should be 1467–8.[2] John Chelworth was the namesake and nephew of that bishop of Lincoln who founded the grammar school at Cirencester and who was complimented by Oxford University on his care and endeavours in restoring "grammatical literature." [3] In 1455, when he was sixteen, Chelworth was dispensed to hold a benefice,[4] and soon afterwards he was collated archdeacon of Lincoln. On 2 August, 1464, he was made a canon of Wells.[5]

John Chelworth celebrated his election as rector at Padua with feasting and display of much more than the usual magnificence. After his election, the new rector was obliged to invite the bishop and city magistrates to attend the ceremony in the Cathedral when he was sworn in with due solemnity. He then provided a feast on which he was supposed to spend not less than fifteen ducats, and it was customary to give presents to each elector, a pair of sheepskin gloves to the podesta of the city, and a similar pair to each of the guests.[6] All through his year of office the rector was expected to keep up a certain pomp, and in summer he was supposed to wear handsome silken robes and in winter to appear clad in purple velvet and furs at every function. At his own expense he had to maintain a beadle and a cook, and to preserve great dignity and state in his own household.

To celebrate his election, Chelworth arranged a grand tournament and games, probably held in the Prato della Valle, where most of Padua's public entertainments and

[1] Padova, 1902. Caput ii/11.
[2] Tomasini, *Gymnasium Patavinum*, p. 394.
[3] *Epistolæ Academicæ*, I/354. [4] *Cal. Pap. Letters*, XI/26.
[5] *Register of Bishop Bekynton*, I/418.
[6] G. Giomo, *L'Archivio antico della Universita di Padova*. Venezia, 1893.

spectacles have taken place, from the Middle Ages till to-day. Fireworks and feasting helped to empty the coffers so carefully filled by Peter Courtenay and his immediate successors and gave Chelworth a universal popularity. The tournament lasted for several days, and many combats were fought between famous knights. It must have been a brave sight, for all the students and all the townsmen would turn out to watch or to take part in the tourneys, the spectators dressed in their gayest clothes and all in the liveliest of spirits. The students carried emblems with the Lion of St. Mark quartered with the arms of the Doge, of the new rector, and a representation of the Risen Christ, the symbol of the studio; they shouted and danced and built huge bonfires in the streets.

The scene is described in a carmen dedicated to Chelworth by a young poet, Lodovico Lazzarelli, who was a student at Padua at the time. Lazzarelli, or Lazzareni, or Zazzarelli, was born in 1450 at Sanseverino in the Marches; he was the son of a learned physician there named Alessandro. Lodovico studied Latin and Greek under Giorgio Merula, and at an early age began to show great facility as a poet. The carmen *Liber de Apparatu Patavini Astiludii*, written on the occasion of Chelworth's election, was his first important work and won him the fame which caused him to be chosen to recite a poem of his own composition before the Emperor Frederick III when he visited Italy for his coronation in 1468–9. The Emperor crowned Lodovico poet laureate on this occasion. Lodovico wrote many poems, some of them dedicated to his patron Charles VIII of France; his best-known work is *Bombyx*,[1] printed at Basel by J. Frobenius in 1518.

Lodovico's brother Filippo, in referring to the *De Apparatu*, remarked that 'John, archdeacon of Lincoln' was exceedingly rich, splendid, and generous,[2] so it is

[1] Lodovico Lazzarelli, *Bombyx ecc. cum commentarii ecc.*, Joanne Francisco Lancillottio, Jesi, 1765.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 17–18.

probable that Lodovico was liberally rewarded for his work. His poem is pleasant but discursive, full of classical allusions fashionable at the time, but often so far fetched as to strain the reader's patience. He describes the combats on horseback and on foot, and the prowess of the local champions, and the gorgeous pageantry. Never had Antenor's city seen such noble deeds of arms, nor so great a crowd of Paduan citizens, Venetian patricians and fair ladies, listening, as they watched, to the strains of sweet music.

At the end of his poem, Lodovico with conventional humility begs Chelworth to correct his many errors and ineptitudes. There is a copy of this carmen in the British Museum,[1] a small, well-written vellum manuscript of nineteen folios, with a charming full illuminated border on the first page. The ornament is quite different from the usual imitations of Florentine or Neapolitan branch-work design ; the border has gold dots and individual curiously shaped flowers connected by fine pen-scrolling in sepia, in the Ferrarese manner. The book was probably written in Padua, but does not appear to be Chelworth's own copy. It contains, however, the dedication to Chelworth on fo. 1, written in well-proportioned Roman capitals of gold and blue. Another Italian, Justus de Justis, also sought Chelworth's patronage, addressing to him an essay in praise of Britain,[2] with a dedicatory epistle written from Verona 16 July, 1468. In his dedication Justus refers to Chelworth's nobility and probity and wisdom, to his magnificence and to his admirable conduct of the affairs of the Studio. This, as well as Lazzarelli's work, was overlooked by Macray when he collected his *Early Dedications to Englishmen by Foreign Authors*.[3]

As rector, Chelworth took a very active part in the affairs of the studio, beginning on 14 May, 1467, when, as

[1] MS. Arundel 212.

[2] Cotton MS. Nero A, X, fo. 1. (British Museum.) I am indebted to Count Roberto Weiss for calling my attention to this manuscript.

[3] *Bibliographica*, I/pt. iii. London, 1895.

" noviter electus," he assisted at the " doctoratus " in Civil Law of his predecessor, Jacopo da Rocha. On this occasion he is described as " Joannes gevvort " ; his surname seems to have presented great difficulty to Italian scribes, for he is sometimes " Chetvorth," " Chedvort," " Gievvort," or " Jebort," and once his identity is concealed under the name " Joanegevort."

Chelworth, like Courtenay, tried to reform the finances of the studio. He made some attempt to fix the stipends of Jurist professors, which had varied considerably in recent years, and also those of the Artists, assigning to each of them twenty *argenti* " which should never be increased." [1] This arrangement was not modified in theory although in practice the salaries may have been augmented from other sources, until 1655, when the Senate and Triumvirates decided that the stipends should be raised to fifty *argenti*. Like Courtenay, too, Chelworth presented a very large number of scholars for their degrees. After taking his doctorate in Civil Law on 6 June, 1468,[2] Chelworth left Padua and returned to England ; he died while still a young man, in 1471, and in his will dated 4 August of that year he bequeathed his property to his father and mother.[3]

V

Among the " testes " of John Chelworth when he took his degree were Thomas Langton, John Doggett " archdeacon of Chichester," and John Lee the vice-rector. Thomas Langton afterwards became bishop of Winchester, served on a great number of embassies, helped his nephew and other scholars with advice and generous gifts, and died in 1501 just before he could be consecrated archbishop of Canterbury. He had been in Padua since 1464, but did not stay there to take his degree, preferring to go on to Bologna

[1] Facciolati, *Fasti Gymnasii Patavini*, II/15–16.
[2] *Benefic. Collationes*, xxxiii/123.
[3] P.C.C. 3 Wattys.

where he took his doctorate in Canon Law, 15 February, 1473.[1]

John Doggett originally intended to take his doctorate in Canon Law at Padua, but his plans went wrong. Before he left England, just after coming down from Cambridge in 1464, he had made an arrangement with a London shearman named James Fynde to exchange £50 1*s.* 8*d.* for him; this, he calculated, would cover his expenses at Padua.[2] Fifty-two golden ducats were to be sent to Thomas Langton at Padua for Doggett, and he was given a letter of exchange for the rest, while Fynde promised to convey to Venice for him a "certain chest containing divers goods to the value of £12 10*s.*" However, when Doggett reached Venice he could not find his chest of goods, nor could he obtain any money for his letter of credit, and when he arrived at Padua he found that Langton had never received the fifty-two ducats. In a petition addressed to the Chancellor of England sometime between 1474 and 1480 Doggett stated that he

> was not able nor of power to content his creditors of their duties in Padua ne durst abide in Padua there to apply him to study, as he intended for to have done, but departed from thence, his debts at that time being unpaid, his learning and credence lost in that country, to his damage of forty pounds.[3]

Doggett was a nephew of Cardinal Bourchier, and inscribed to him his only extant work, the *Examinatorium in Phædonem Platonis*,[4] in which he shows a close acquaintance with Leonardo Bruni's translations from the Greek. After he returned to England Doggett's fortunes improved; no

[1] *Liber Secretus Juris Pontificii*, fo. 133 (MS. in the Archivio di Stato at Bologna).

[2] This was the sum advanced to Edward Beauchamp by Giovanni Bardi of Florence to permit him to study at Bologna and Padua. The loan was repaid by a grant from the customs; Warrant for the Signet, 21 Edward IV, membr. 5; P.R.O., c. 81/1390.

[3] *Early Chancery Proceedings*, bundle 59, no. 252. Quoted by Miss C. L. Scofield; *Edward IV*, II/448–9; to whom I am indebted for this story.

[4] British Museum Add. MS. 10344.

doubt this was due to Bourchier's influence. He became successively canon of Lincoln and of Salisbury, then Provost of King's College, Cambridge; he held many other preferments and was employed in a variety of embassies, being sent in 1479 to Rome and the following year to Denmark. Doggett continued to be unlucky in losing his goods, for in addition to the loss of the £40 and the chest of divers goods at Venice, when he was rector of Eastbourne in 1491 his rectory house and outbuildings were burnt down and he lost £600. John Doggett was a Dorset man, born at Sherborne, and he held several livings in the Salisbury diocese; when he died in 1501 he bequeathed £10 to St. Osmund's shrine at Salisbury and left instructions that he was to be buried there.[1]

In the year following Chelworth's tenure of the office of rector, only one Englishman is found at Padua. This is John Oxney, who took his degree not in Law but in Medicine, 14 August, 1469.[2] No English names are found among his "testes," and he himself is difficult to identify in English records. He can hardly be the John Oxney who was prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, from 1468 to 1471; he is more probably to be identified with the John Oxney who took his M.B. at Cambridge in 1463 and who was rector of Capel St. Mary, Suffolk, in 1472, when he is described as M.D.[3] Still less is known about Edward Blond, perhaps Blunt, the English student who died of fever at Padua in 1471; he had already won renown in the studio as a young man of exceptional promise,[4] but no trace of him has been found in English records.

Of all the eleven Englishmen who studied at Padua during these fifteen years, only one held a position as lecturer. This was the Augustinian Thomas Penketh, a famous Scotist who enjoyed an international reputation. He was born in Warrington rather before the middle of the century; he

[1] W. H. Jones, *Fasti Ecclesiæ Sarisb.*, I/339.
[2] *Benefic. Collationes*, xxxv/10v. [3] Venn, *Alumni Cantab.*
[4] R. Bibl. Univ. Archivio antico MS. 1675, iii/228.

studied at Cambridge where he took his D.D. 1466–7, and later went to Oxford to work at philosophy and theology, lecturing there in the year 1473. The following year we find him at Padua,[1] where he was Professor of Metaphysics until 1475. Two years later he was lecturing on theology and was still teaching there in 1479. The next year he returned to England and became Provincial of his Order. He died in London, 20 May, 1487. Penketh, or Penchet, or Pencoidus, was recognised as one of the greatest living exponents of the philosophy of Duns Scotus, and he wrote a commentary in four books upon the *Quæstiones* while he was at Padua ; it was printed at Venice in 1474. Three years later he wrote a book on the *Sentences*,[2] published at Venice in 1477, and he was also the author of a commentary on Aristotle's *Metaphysics*.[3]

A brother Augustinian, Jacopo Filippo da Bergamo, wrote enthusiastic praises of Thomas Penketh, quoted by Morelli in his manuscript " materials for the history of the Studio of Padova " : [4]

> . . . Thomas Anglicus divi ordinis Heremitarum Augustinii professus sacrarum litterarum certe subtilissimus atque doctissimus magister, cum nunc [1479] publice in Patavino studio sacras edoceat literas, a multis rogatus illa [Iohannis Scoti opera] quasi de novo edita impressoribus librorum obtulit imprimenda . . . etc.

Certainly Penketh was the most distinguished of these Englishmen from the academic point of view, though both Courtenay and Chelworth held office as rector with conspicuous success, and the " promising " Edward Blond, if he had recovered from his fever, might have made his mark in the studio. The others were, however, with the exception of John Lee and John Oxney, important men of affairs. John Free was pre-eminent among humanists not only in

[1] Zonta and Brotto, *La Fac. Teologica*, I/99, 179–81, 203.
[2] *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*.
[3] Tanner, *Bibl. Brit.-Hibern.*, 589.
[4] R. Bibl. Univ. Archivio antico MS. 1675, iii/fo. 277, etc.

England but in Italy as well; it was a genuine compliment that he should be invited by Italians to compose an epitaph on Petrarch, and his appointment as bishop of Bath and Wells [1] was due to the Pope's recognition of his humanistic merits.

John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, Peter Courtenay, Thomas Langton and John Doggett all served their country as ambassadors, and Langton became Primate-Elect of the English Church. Thomas Purviour rose from obscurity to become a canon of Wells, and to hold a good position at Rome. In each case residence and study at Padua was recognised as a key to diplomatic employment, and a degree from Bologna, Padua, or Ferrara gave a lustre which it seems that Oxford and Cambridge were in the fifteenth century considered powerless to provide.

[1] In 1465. He died before he could be consecrated.

APPENDIX

Englishmen who took Degrees at Padua during the Fifteenth Century

4 Feb.	1439	Andrew Holes	D.Phil.
26 June	1442	Richard Rudhale	D.Can.Law.
6 Sept.	1445	William [Grey]	D.Theol.
29 Jan.	1446	Thomas Balscott	D.Can.Law
2 Dec.	1446	Thomas Candour [or Condover]	D.Can.Law
3 Feb.	1447	Henry Sharpe	D.Civ.Law
5 March	1447	William Hatcliff [or Hattecl yffe]	D.Med.
4 Sept.	1447	Robert Flemmyng	B.Theol.
7 May	1450	Richard [Collis]	D.Can.Law
9 June	1453	Peter Paris	D.Theol.
22 March	1461 *	John Lee	D.Can.Law
15 Nov.	1462	Thomas [Purviour]	D.Theol.
6 June	1468	John Chelworth	D.Civ.Law
14 Aug.	1469	John Oxney	D.Med.
23 July	1476	Edward Chene [Cheyney]	D.Can. and Civ. Law
11 Jan.	1477	John Clerk	D.Med.
4 July	1477	Edmund Wrigh [sic]	D.Civ.Law
30 Aug.	1496	Thomas Linacre	D.Med.

* Peter Courtenay is believed to have taken his doctorate in Canon Law in 1461. For references to his official career in England, see above in this volume, pp. 96–97.

SOME PROPOSED LEGISLATION OF HENRY VIII

By Professor T. F. T. Plucknett, M.A., LL.B., F.R.Hist.S.

Read 12 *March*, 1936

One of the most fascinating features in the study of the history of the common law as revealed in six centuries of law reports is the possibility of tracing the growth of legal thought over long periods of time; hints, suggestions, unsuccessful attempts to establish a rule or a doctrine often appear in such sources long before the innovation has received the final approbation of the courts, and so we are privileged to watch the progress of legal speculation, to overhear the debates upon new departures, and to estimate the forces which produced or obstructed some projected innovation. It is this possibility which gives such life and vividness to legal history. In many fields of thought we are mainly confined to those considered statements of results which have been deliberately left to us by philosophers, theologians, or political theorists, but the historian of the common law has more intimate and more human material at his disposal. The vast series of year books and reports extending from Edward I to Edward VIII are entirely different from formal treatises. They are rather rough notes that were never meant to be published, chance remarks by men who were too busy to write anything, rapid conversation in court and at table, wherein brilliant men exchanged views on important matters with little preparation in the course of unrehearsed debates, under pressure of time, and in the heat of battle.

Other branches of legal science, however, remain more remote. Thus, there is an air of unreality over the early

history of equity, for example, which cannot be dispelled, and statute law is likewise apt to appear peremptory, abrupt and desiccated. Lawyers to-day have emphasised the catastrophic character of a statute. It has the force of law on " the appointed day " ; the day before that, all is void. How it came about is nobody's business ; the recommendations (perhaps by an eminent body of commissioners) which initiated it, are irrelevant ; the slow fashioning of it in debate and in committee, and the changes it underwent there, are no concern of the lawyers, for whom Hansard and the blue books are out of bounds.[1] But as historians we have no power to rule out evidence in this high-handed way ; on the contrary, where it is available, it almost always adds considerably to the significance and interest of legislation. Indeed, the undeniable dryness of much of the statute book is largely due to the fact that we are still ignorant of the history of many measures before the moment when the words of consecration turned a sheet of parchment into the law of the land.

That history can be recovered in many cases. Something is known of the drafting history even of Magna Carta, and as soon as we get to the first volume of the rolls of parliament we have plenty of examples of inchoate legislation which failed in the end to materialise—and this Society has recently published some remarkably interesting new material which illuminates a great many points.[2] In the fifteenth century we begin to be able to trace successive changes and amendments in bills, as an American investigator has shown recently,[3] while in 1916 this Society awarded its Alexander Medal to the author of an interesting study on the origins of Henry VIII's treason legislation.[4]

[1] For a few references on this, see Plucknett, *Concise History of the Common Law* (2nd edn.), 299.

[2] Richardson and Sayles, *Rotuli Parliamentorum Inediti* (Camden Series).

[3] Gray, *Influence of the Commons on Early Legislation.*

[4] Thornley, " Treason Legislation of Henry VIII," *Transactions* (1917), 61. For the drafting history of the Statute of Frauds (1677) see Holdsworth, *History of English Law*, VI, 380–4.

As soon as the *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII* began to appear, Stubbs [1] drew attention to certain drafts of proposed legislation which were there calendared, and Maitland also referred to them in the fruitful notes to his Rede Lecture.[2] The full interest of these documents was not realised, however, until Sir William Holdsworth printed the text of a number of memoranda and drafts relating to the history of one of the most important legislative acts in our legal history, the Statute of Uses.[3] Upon the basis of those documents he has been able to write a most valuable chapter whose interest far exceeds the bounds of real property law, and is of significance for the general political history of the reign. The statute as finally passed we may leave to the legal historians, but the drafts which failed to become law deserve our attention, for they show that the government was thinking along lines which we would hardly have expected.

It is now a well-attested fact that the Tudors were gravely concerned with their feudal dues. Those dues were already an anachronism, and there were men even then who were inclined to take the same view, but the restiveness of parliament seems to have compelled Henry VIII to follow his father in regarding aid, wardship, marriage, relief, primer seisin, ousterlemain and the rest of them as the most promising source of augmented revenue. The price that Henry VIII was prepared to pay for the stricter enforcement of these dues is revealed in the various drafts leading to the Statute of Uses, and it is those drafts which we must consider for a moment.

We may safely assume that the proposals to be made would be as attractive as the crown could reasonably afford ; we may be sure that the crown would offer something which it believed the groups it was negotiating with would appreciate, something which fell in with their modes of thought ; indeed, the fact that the proposals were accepted by the

[1] Stubbs, *Seventeen Lectures*, 321.
[2] *English Law and the Renaissance*, 45 n. 11.
[3] Holdsworth, *op. cit.*, IV, 572–86.

group in question shows that the king had struck a sympathetic chord, and the circumstance that the crown was parting with nothing, although it received real money in exchange, is merely one more testimonial to the skill of Henry and his advisers.

Now the group in question was the peerage, " the nobyll men of thys realme being within the degree of a baron." The terms which were offered to them, and which they accepted, were these. There was to be a completely separate body of real property law for peers, which was to mark them off clearly from commoners. Commoners were to have no estate but fees simple,[1] and no uses were to be valid unless registered in the court of common pleas. No commoner was permitted to create an entail, and all existing entails were to be converted into fees simple. Noblemen, on the other hand, were allowed the exclusive privilege of settling their lands if they so desired, and existing settlements of nobles' lands were to continue in effect ; and, finally, and most extraordinary of all, the lands of noblemen were to be inalienable, save by royal licence under the great seal. All these matters were embodied in a draft bill presented to parliament, in contemplation of which a treaty, dated November, 1529, was concluded between the king and the lords who seem to have signed, with him, a minute of the terms ; thirty names appear besides those of the chancellor, Sir Thomas More, and Henry himself.[2] It contained elaborate provisions on feudal dues and purports to bind commoners as well as peers.[3]

The legal implications of this contract, and of the draft statute based upon it, have been explored by Sir William Holdsworth, but the social aspects of the proposal have not, I think, been sufficiently emphasised.

[1] The bill may not have intended to abolish the estates for life.

[2] The text of the draft bill (calendared in *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, IV, 6043 no. 6) is in Holdsworth, IV, 572–4 ; the treaty (calendared *ib.*, 6044) is printed in Holdsworth, IV, 574–7.

[3] This may explain the signature of Audley (Speaker in 1529). A bill was to have been prepared on the basis of the treaty.

The view of the social structure of England which is implied in these documents differs materially from that generally current. From very early times we have had magnates, and some of them have derived their status from tenure, others from office; certain of them achieved the very great political privilege of an individual summons to parliament, and so, almost inevitably, gave rise to a house of lords, but apart from this, and its corrollary, trial by peers,[1] nobility has carried with it only few and trifling distinctions. Under this proposed scheme, however, we should have had a peerage of quite a different type, enjoying a body of private law which was to be peculiar to the order. While the lands of commoners were to be in their absolute disposition, peers were to have the privilege of entails, still further strengthened by a statutory restraint upon alienation which only the king could remove. The undoubtedly large fortunes enjoyed by most, if not all, of the nobility, would therefore have become practically indestructible.

This is a most serious and startling departure from English traditions, which might have made considerable changes in our social and parliamentary history, and we might well be tempted to regard it as merely a fantastic scheme without serious claims to attention. We cannot dismiss it, I think, so lightly as that. The project made considerable progress; negotiations with the peers concerned had been concluded, and a contract drawn up and signed; one of the bills to give legal effect to it was ready for presentation to parliament; although the scheme was dropped in 1529, it is probable that its main features were revived in 1532.[2] Clearly then, the scheme for an endowed peerage was a government measure, lengthily prepared, and

[1] The law of *scandalum magnatum* may perhaps be added. The offence was unimportant until the Tudor statutes of 1554 and 1559 finally confirmed the existence of a special body of law protecting magnates from defamation. As late as 1571 peers claimed (but unsuccessfully) that they could not be committed for contempt in chancery, Holdsworth, V, 228.

[2] It can hardly be doubted that these are the projects alluded to by Chapuys (*Letters and Papers*, V, 762, 805, 989).

to be taken seriously. We must therefore accept the conclusion that one of the many new tendencies of the Tudor age, with its pomp and magnificence, and its interest in foreign models,[1] was a wish to erect a peerage with entirely new privileges in the matter of property law. Moreover, the tendency revealed in these drafts adds point to some other documents. Thus several sumptuary acts of this reign [2] are of unparalleled rigour. It had long been a custom to restrict by statute certain types of apparel to lords, but in Henry VIII's reign we find increasingly detailed discrimination between dukes, marquises, earls and barons in the matter of attire [3]; the king and Wolsey, overdressed as they were, took a deep interest in this legislation. Then, too, there is the act for placing the lords in parliament, which is the first legislation in England on matters of precedence,[4] while it is already well known that heralds and heraldry take on a new, if factitious importance within parliament and without during this reign. It is to Henry's reign that the beginnings of the present curious law of peerage with its novel doctrine of ennobled blood have been traced, and taking all these things together, it becomes clear that the proposed legislation on uses was the culmination of a movement, typical of the sixteenth century and of this reign in particular, for giving strict legal sanction to the social hierarchy, and for creating a peerage enjoying exceptional property privileges. Indeed, the notion may have been extended to other orders of society, for we find a suggestion that the mercantile and industrial class ought to be kept separate from the landed class. Even if the prime reason for this proposal to forbid merchants and craftsmen to purchase land was economic [5]—to prevent depopulation of

[1] Cf. Pickthorn, *Henry VII*, 73.

[2] See generally, F. E. Baldwin, *Sumptuary Legislation* (Baltimore, 1926), and particularly, Hooper, "Tudor Sumptuary Laws," *English Historical Review*, XXX, 433.

[3] The acts are: 1 Henry VIII, c. 14 (1510); 6 Henry VIII, c. 1 (1514); 7 Henry VIII, c. 6 (1515); and 24 Henry VIII, c. 13 (1553).

[4] 31 Henry VIII, c. 10 (1539). [5] *Letters and Papers*, IX, 725.

the countryside, and to drive capital back into commerce—the social implication must have been appreciated as well. In 1547 criminal peers received special indulgence by a statute which allowed them benefit of clergy, even although they could not read, and if convicted, a peer was excused the branding which was the punishment of commoners.[1]

As another example of the interesting light thrown by draft legislation, we may consider a project to erect a new court,[2] the date of which seems to be about 1534.

The great activity in erecting new courts which characterises the reign of Henry VIII has so far been made the subject of speculation rather than research. It is clear that most of the new courts were largely engaged in enforcing feudal dues, and in financial operations connected with that jurisdiction, but there were projects to carry the process much further. The scheme which we must now examine takes the form of a draft act of parliament for the erection of a court of "Justices or Conservators of the Common Weal." Six such conservators were to be appointed, at least three of them barristers, who were to sit at Whitehall, and enforce all statutes penal or popular passed since 1485. Of such statutes there was already a goodly number, their general plan being a prohibition of some act or conduct, followed by the enactment that any person who can prove a breach of the statute may sue the offender and recover such penalty as the act provides. Such actions were called actions popular, because any member of the public could bring them. In some cases the penalty was due partly to the crown and partly to the informer, whose action was then described as an action *qui tam* since he proceeds on the king's behalf as well as his own. The legal classification of proceedings of this sort is not easy; nowadays such statutes

[1] I Edw. VI, c. 12. Section 6 of the draft appended to this paper clearly depicts society as composed of the king, nobility, chivalry and craftsmen.

[2] *Letters and Papers*, VII, 1611 (4); below, pp. 135 ff.

would generally create new misdemeanours, punishable by fine and imprisonment, in many cases on summary conviction, prosecutions being in practice conducted by the police. The action popular, however, was of a very different nature, although attempting to serve the same purpose. It was civil, not criminal, being generally an action of debt (which, incidentally, gave Blackstone [1] some trouble, for he had to fit it in with quasi-contract). There was no official body which could be charged with the duty of prosecuting. Serious crimes could be brought before the courts upon indictment, but offences falling short of felony at this moment were generally left to civil proceedings. Now such proceedings were slow and costly, and a good deal of inducement was required before private persons would embark upon them. Hence the statutory provisions for penalties or forfeitures payable to whoever would sue for them.[2]

Such actions popular pursued the ordinary course of private civil litigation in the court of common pleas, with trial at *nisi prius*. That court was certainly not overwhelmed with actions popular at the moment, but then the obvious reason was that such actions were not brought in anything like sufficient numbers to serve as a sanction for the enforcement of statute law.[3] To ensure effective enforcement, therefore, this special body was proposed. The preamble explains all this in earnest, and even persuasive language. As the result of "great experience and long travail," we are told, the king has come to understand how good his legislation is. Those laws have been printed "in our maternal English tongue" and are so available to all; yet they are not put into force unless it be by malice, rancour and evil will. "Better it were they had never been made,

[1] Blackstone, *Commentaries*, III, 160.

[2] An action penal was very similar save that the statutory penalty accrued to the party who had been injured by the prohibited act.

[3] Indeed, even when action was brought, it might be in fact a collusive proceeding by an offender's friend who had no intention of enforcing payment; the judgment however served to bar subsequent actions by less benevolent persons. See 4 Henry VII, c. 20 which vainly endeavoured to check the practice.

unless they should be put in due and perfect execution," he writes, showing a sound appreciation of one of the cardinal rules of polity. How deeply the matter had been studied is further shown in the preamble by the remark that this type of legislation is not enforced because " in all courts of this his realm (saving only in his high court of parliament) there is never at any time any suits, matters or causes attempted commenced and entreated of, but only such as concern *meum* and *tuum*." In these striking words the author makes a penetrating diagnosis of the enforcement problem. The common law was essentially the law of property ; its courts, procedure and practitioners were all organised for the conduct of property litigation. He clearly realised that attempts so far made to enforce legislation of the sort he has in mind, had actually been compelled, by the spirit of the common law itself, to deal with the situation in terms of *meum* and *tuum*. Police regulations had to be treated in terms of debt and detinue. These thoughtful observations are followed in the preamble by the protestation that the king is in no way moved by the desire to get goods or money out of his subjects, but solely by concern for their " enriching and increase in sundry virtues and in their due obedience unto his highness and his laws " ; the object of this act, he pleads, is a good and charitable reformation of all his subjects, and the dissuasion of them from attempting errors and things that are harmful to themselves and the common weal.

The preamble is not too long, nor the style too turgid to prevent even a modern reader catching a note of earnestness in the appeal of this most persuasive monarch. Section 1 sets up the six conservators therefore, with full power to determine all matters concerning the common weal. Section 2 gives them authority to summon all persons before them who have infringed any " acts, ordinances or statutes penal or popular " made since 1485. Section 3 recalls the king's merciful benignity and goodness which had set a period of three years from the commission of an offence, after which

period the crown by statute was barred. The recital is inaccurate [1] and the drafting imperfect at this point, but it seems that the line of thought was something like this: under existing circumstances, prosecutions are rare, and so the crown cannot submit to a short period of limitation; but if enforcement were more regular, then the period could reasonably be shortened to one year. Consequently, sections 3 and 4 set up more new officials to be called sergeants of the common weal.[2]

The settlement of their powers and functions shows how thoroughly the government understood the problem. Police measures have to be enforced largely in courts unencumbered with other work—hence the conservators; but it is hopeless to rely on actions popular and the greed of individual members of the public to bring offenders into court—hence the sergeants. We might perhaps call them "detectives," for section 4 empowers them to search and enquire for offenders, and to lay an information before the conservators against such persons as they shall have "detected and accused." It is this office of sergeant which is the most original part of the whole scheme. If it had come into effect, we should have had a system of public prosecutors in every locality, controlled by the court, which would have replaced the demoralising reliance upon common informers and private prosecutors which was the mainstay of our procedure down to the beginning of the nineteenth century. Malice, rancour and evil-will would have been replaced by official diligence in the prosecution of statutory offences.

It was a radical departure, but the crown seems to have realised the consternation with which such a project would certainly have been received. Many safeguards and con-

[1] The draft alleges an act of 4 Henry VIII setting a limit of three years; the allusion is perhaps to 7 Henry VIII, c. 3 which set a limit of four years to the crown.

[2] The title naturally suggests comparison with those "Serjeants of the Peace" to whom Mr. Stewart-Brown has just devoted a most interesting monograph. It seems unlikely that they had any influence upon this draft, being, for practical purposes, obsolete by the sixteenth century.

cessions were therefore offered. Proceedings could only be begun within one year of an offence—instead of four. If a prosecution failed, the accused was to recover double damages and costs against the sergeant, or even more, if the conservators find it reasonable. The forfeitures allowed by the statutes, on the other hand, were to go to the sergeants upon a conviction (s. 4).

Such is the main outline of the scheme. Its two elements were the separate court, and the novel institution of the sergeants of the common weal who, it was hoped, would replace the common informer and serve as a sort of *ministère publique*. Once this machinery was erected, Henry realised (as Sir Samuel Romilly and Lord Brougham discovered nearly three centuries later) that certainty of enforcement could replace haphazard severity. The award of damages and costs against crown officials upon an acquittal shows how far Henry was ready to go in this direction. In fact, this matter of costs is of considerable importance. In consequence of the failure to enact this draft, our law preserved its habit of leaving most prosecutions to individual initiative. In the middle of the eighteenth century Henry Fielding complained that thieves go unpunished because the victim, already impoverished, shrinks from the heavy burden of prosecuting at his own costs and expenses.[1] Legislation has remedied this situation only during the last century and a half.[2] The draft before us deals firmly with the problem by placing the whole of the prosecution in the hands of a public department, each sergeant being expected to finance his operations out of the forfeitures, thus producing a self-balancing budget. That, however, only settles one half of the problem: defendants who have been put upon their trial and acquitted have also incurred heavy costs, ought not something to be done for them too? This is a matter which is periodically discussed in the public press of our

[1] B. M. Jones, *Henry Fielding*, 198.

[2] The principal statutes are listed in Stephen, *History of Criminal Law*, I, 499.

own day; but if any of us were told that such a project had once been drawn up by an English government, how many of us would guess that it was during the reign of Henry VIII?

A point of general importance was raised by Maitland [1] when he referred to the calendar in which this draft was described. He was considering the growing influence of civilians, and the possibility that the common law might have to yield large territories to the Romanists. Repeating the provision that only half of the conservators were required to be barristers he asked, "what are the rest to be?" *quasi diceret*, civilians. We must therefore search the draft for Roman tendencies, for it is clear that Maitland relied on the calendar, and never examined the original, which indeed until now has never been printed. Section 5 puts the matter at rest:

> All and every the parties accused in form aforesaid shall have such liberty, challenge and trial of, in and upon their said accusations for any of their acquitals in such favourable and lawful wise as the due course of the common law will permit and suffer them to have in any actions of debt or trespass.

The section is categorical; law and procedure are to be as at common law, and Maitland's conjecture that the court was one more Romanist plot must be abandoned. The words just quoted, however, are followed by a remarkable proviso that if any person puts in an answer in writing, he shall be sworn as to the truth of its contents. The device comes from the star chamber, and is expressed in terms which were in fact a settled form in that court.[2]

Unlike the star chamber, however, trial was by jury, and succeeding sections set up the machinery whereby the conservators were to send precepts to sheriffs to return qualified jurors. If, however, a defendant pleaded guilty, the court

[1] *English Law and the Renaissance*, 71 n. 43.

[2] Hudson, *Star Chamber*, in *Collectanea Juridica*, II, 167 (quoted by Holdsworth, V, 180).

could mitigate the penalty—a power which no court as yet possessed (s. 8).[1] When issue has been joined, the court may have a trial at bar, or alternatively, may send the issue to be tried at the assizes (s. 10) ; contempt (including failure to satisfy judgments) could be punished by committal to the Fleet prison. Section 13 makes the new court concurrent with all existing courts and saves their jurisdiction ; section 14 has a very modern sound, for it requires a table of fees to be " openly hanged up." Other sections require its records to be kept in " our maternal English tongue " and assign to each conservator a substantial salary of £100 per annum.

The general idea of a special court for the enforcement of statute law was no novelty. Statute law of a penal or police character had long shown a centrifugal tendency. The statute of labourers and the elaboration of the jurisdiction of the peace are perhaps the earliest examples of the incompatibility of common law and statutory offences. In 1362 a statute authorised chancery to give remedy upon any statute,[2] and for a moment there was a possibility that statute law might be the special province of chancery. There was competition, however, with this idea, and a board of councillors was the favourite solution a century later. The official group named to try certain high misdemeanours in the act of 1487 (the act *pro camera stellata*) is the most striking example.[3] The matters assigned to it were all high statutory misdemeanours, and the act is well within the old tradition of assigning statutory offences to *ad hoc* courts. The justices of the peace were eventually given authority to try, as well as to enquire of, all statutory misdemeanours,[4] but clearly the commission of the peace was neither strong enough, nor independent enough, to sustain so heavy a burden.

[1] There were also means whereby they could convict on default (s. 19), another daring break with tradition.

[2] 36 Edward III, st. 1, c. 9.

[3] 3 Henry VII, c. 1.

[4] 11 Henry VII, c. 3.

The draft scheme is therefore the culmination of a long tendency. If the draft had been enacted, historians would doubtless have noticed that tendency and provided the statute with a pedigree. The fact that the draft failed of enactment, however, must not obscure the fact that the tendency really did exist and directed our legal development for two hundred years.[1]

Such, then, was the scheme for the new court. We are bound to admit that it has many merits, in spite of all the disadvantages of a compromise. If it still retained the illogical forms of debt and trespass for what was virtually a criminal prosecution of misdemeanours, nevertheless it removed the greatest objections. Proceedings would be begun by public officers instead of by private informers; enforcement would be more constant and less capricious; an acquittal carried with it an indemnity against costs; the defendant could introduce a sworn statement (as in the star chamber) if he wished, but in any case his trial was by jury, normally at assizes. The preamble contains at least two profoundly true observations which show that the author approached his task from the standpoint of the philosophical jurist as well as of the practising lawyer. The draft must (in its present form) come from 1534 or later. Yet can we believe that such a document came from the circle of Cromwell, Audley, Rich? Could any of these men have summed up the history of the common law in the two short words *meum* and *tuum*? Could any of them have discovered the principle of penal legislation and expressed it, as this writer did, in words that Beccaria or Bentham might have approved? Would any of them have been so careful of trial by jury, and so considerate of defendants' costs?

Look at the seal of the new court. On one side a ship with the royal arms; on the other

a plough, two hand-cards, a hammer and a spade, signifying that by labour and tilling of the earth and by the good industry of

[1] For further material on the point, see Plucknett, *Concise History of the Common Law* (2nd edn.), 164.

draping of cloths, and of merchants, fishers, mariners, miners and handycrafts, the great burden of the common weal . . . is . . . always sustained.[1]

In those words, is there not an echo of Utopia?

At this point it would have been pleasant to conclude; but there is one more section in this draft which puts a very different complexion upon the whole scheme. So far it has been concerned with statutory offences, for which it provided rigorous but just sanctions, common law procedure, jury trial, and unexpected safeguards against abuse. Section 20, however, removes every safeguard and overrides every limitation. It aims at "any person" and penalises acts done anywhere in the realm, or in the king's dominions, whether on land or on water, fresh or salt. These last words sound strange to modern ears, but they were directed to a problem which was very real in the reign of Henry VIII, and for long after. In his day it was still law that if *A* wounded *B* in one county and *B* died in another county, *A* was beyond the reach of a common law prosecution for murder, for in neither county was he indictable.[2] A crime committed in the course of a journey would go unpunished (until 1826) unless it could be proved to have been committed in a particular county—a rule of great comfort to pickpockets on stage coaches.[3] There were "bays, creeks and arms of the sea" where common-law process did not penetrate and where the Admiral's jurisdiction was itself shadowy.[4] The dominion of Wales presented special difficulties.[5] To sweep all this aside would certainly have been profoundly shocking to many minds, and we who would applaud the boldness of the project must remember that it took three centuries to put it into effect.

[1] S. 6.

[2] 2 & 3 Edward VI, c. 24 explained, and abolished, the rule (1548).

[3] 7 George IV, c. 64 (s. 13).

[4] Admiralty jurisdiction was shortly after this draft defined and enlarged by 28 Henry VIII, c. 15 (1536).

[5] The Welsh problem was also dealt with, even more promptly, by 26 Henry VIII, c. 6 (1534).

This is nothing, however, compared with the definition of the conduct which the section penalises, which is

> to do or to attempt any device, practice or experience which has been, is, or in time to come shall be thought unto the said Conservators to be hurtful or prejudicial to the common weal of this realm, and no act, statute, provision or ordinance made for reformation of the same.

The enactment of this would have meant the abandonment of the time-honoured principle of the law that acts are not criminal unless they fall within one or another of the known and definite categories recognised by common law or statute. Whether the government meant to make drastic use of this power of declaring new crimes is not clear. The words are very sweeping, but it is well to remember that other seemingly wide statutes of the reign (such as the act of proclamations) proved comparatively mild in operation. It may be that the draft envisaged nothing more alarming than the " public mischief " which has caused some comment recently among those who are jealous for old principle.[1] Whatever the immediate object of the proposal, the draft confers powers on the conservators which strongly resemble those of the star chamber. Offenders could be ordered to attend twice a day in person until they revealed the names of their associates in the nefarious " experience " and until they had entered into recognisances to forbear and desist.

The contrast between this section and the general nature of the rest of the project can hardly be escaped. It is a contrast which runs through much of Tudor history. On the one hand, earnest appeals to virtue, in tones so persuasive that they seem sincere, coupled with many protestations of kindly regard, and on the other, a vigour and rigour of exemplary harshness. The combination is one which succeeded as well four hundred years ago, as it seems to do to-day.

[1] Stephen, *History of Criminal Law*, III, 358 ff. For a typical modern criticism see Stallybrass, *Public Mischief*, 49 *Law Quarterly Review*, 183–91.

APPENDIX

The draft is contained in volume 88 of the state papers of Henry VIII in the Public Record Office. As at present bound, it consists of seventeen leaves (ff. 25–41) formed by double folios stitched at the centre. The 18th leaf is mis-bound at the beginning (f. 24) instead of in its proper place following f. 41. Being the outside leaf, it bears a brief endorsement (cut in course of binding) " An acte for vj Justic . . . the Whyt Hall." It is well and clearly written in a clerkly hand, with a few interlineations, seemingly in the same hand. Towards the end spaces have been left for additions ; it is therefore not a final draft. For this transcript, I have numbered the sections. Interlineations are in square brackets, and a few conjectural restorations where the manuscript is damaged are indicated by italic.

[ff.25, 25b—*blank.*]

[f. 26] The kynges highnes oure mooste dred and benigne soverein lorde calling vnto his good and perfite memorye that dyuers and sundry beneficiall statutis Actis and ordynancis have bene heretofore constitutid made and ordeyned w^{t} greate advise in dyuers parliamentis aswell in the tyme of his mooste victorious Reigne as in the tyme of sundry of his mooste noble progenitors for thaugmentacion mayntenaunce and good encreas of the Common Weale of this his Realme And by greate experience and long travayle his said highnes r*ight* well perceivithe that albeit the same Actis statutis and ordynancis be ymprintid and soo playnely put furthe in our maternall Englisshe tong that all his subiectis may here see rede and obserue the same, yet fewe or none of the said good Actis statutis and ordynancis be hiddirto duely obserued and bettir it were they neuer had bene made onlesse they shuld bee put in due and perfite execucion, but mooste oftene when they or any of theym happene to bee put in experience it is done of [26b] Malice Rancour and evill will and ouer this his mooste Excellente highnes graciously con-

sidered that in all Courtis of this his Realme saving oonly in his high Courte of parliamente, there is neuer at any tyme any sutis matiers or causes attempted commenced and entreated of, but oonly such as concerne meum and tuum. And soo for lak of [discrete and indifferente Executours for [1]] putting the said good and holsome Actis statutis and ordinancis in a due and charitable execucion by some good and indifferente officers thereunto to bee appoyntid according to the true meanyng entente and purpos of the same, the common weale of this his Realme susteyneth and by a long tyme hathe susteyned no little hurte and dammage and seldome is regardid or lokid vnto in many and sundry partes of this Realme aswell w^tin liberties as w^tout. In consideracion whereof the Kingis said highnes myending nothing more undir god thene a good and charitable [f. 27] Reformacion of all his subiectis and the Reducing of theym frome thattempting of all Errours and other thingis that maye dammage hyndre or yn anywise preiudice his said common weale, not coveting by any meanes the losse of there goodis and substaunce, but oonly their enriching and encreas in sundry vertues and in their due obedience unto his highnes and his lawes, hath by thadvise of the lordis spirituell and temporall and of the commons in this his present parliamente assembled and by the auctoritie of the same, devised ordeyned and enstablisshed theis Actis statutis and ordynancis hereaftir ensuyng for a perpetuall encreas augmentacion and Corroboracion of the Common weale of this Realme foreuer in tyme to come.

1. And furst by his said highness and by thauctoritie of this presente parliamente it is ordeyned establisshed and enacted that there shall always bee appoyntid six wise discrete and sage men of this his Realme by his highnes his heiers or successours, whereof alweys [27b] thre of theym shalbe lerned in the common lawes of this his Realme at leste being utter baresters in Innes of Courte, whiche six shall bee callid Justicis or Conseruatours of the Common weale of this Realme undir the Kingis said highnes/ And theis six persons shall alweys sytte and assemble theymselfes to giddirin the whitte haull at Westm' or in some other place appoyntid vnto theym by the Kingis said highnes his heiers or successours and shall haue full powre and auctoritie by vertue of this presente Acte to here ordre and finally to discusse and determyne all and all maner of matiers causes and sutis concernyng the Conseruacion and mayntenaunce of his Common

[1] Interlined and then struck through.

weale yn maner and fourme hereaftir specified And shalbe sworne to obserue and kepe the othe hereaftir for theym expressid.

2. Item theis six persons shalhave full powre and auctoritie to call before theym all and euery persone or persones inhabitid as well wtin liberties as wtout whiche by any meanes [f. 28] haue or shall presume to infringe breake or violate any maner of actis ordynancis or statutis penall or popular not repelled that haue bene ordeynid made and establisshed by auctoritie of any parliamente yn and sithens the begynnyng of the Reigne of the mooste noble King of famous memory henry the vijth Father vnto the Kingis said highnes.

3. Item inasmoche as the Kingis said highnes his mercifull benignitie and goodnes trusting alwayes in the Reformacion and amending of his said subiectis gave his mooste Royall assente vnto a[n] Acte made in the iiijthe yere of his mooste victorious Reigne whereby if his highnes wtin the space of thre yeres aftir thinfringing breking and violacion of any Acte or statute popular or penall [doo] not take his aduauntage againste any his subiectis offending in any suche actes penall or popular, thene his highnes is clerely and vttirly exclud to haue [28b] or to tak any aduauntage or to ponysshe any his subiectis for transgressing any maner of statutis penall or popular aftir thexpiring alweys of thre yeres/ therefore theis six persons Conseruatours of the Common weale shall haue full powre and auctoritie by vertue of this presente Acte to Constitute ordeyne and make in euerie Countie and libertie of this Realme officer or officers to serche and tenquyre frome tyme to tyme of and vpon all and euery the violatours brekers and offendours of any maner of Actis Statutis or ordynancis popular or penall [aforesaid] not repellid being heretofore ordeyned and made for thestablishement and encreas of the Common weale of this Realme in and sithens the furst yere of the Reigne of the said mooste noble king henry the vijth./

4. [f. 29] Item theis officers soo to bee appoynted by the said Conseruatours shalbe called Sergeauntis or seruauntis of the Common weale and shalbe sworne that they shall duely and truely and diligently serche and enquyre euery of them wtin the precincte of his Commission of and for all and almaner of offendours whiche by meanes of any lucre aduauntage wilfulnes or malignitie bee transgressours againste any of the said Actis statutis or ordynaunces and therevpon the same sergeauntis shall make true infourmacion or Relacion from tyme to tyme wtin oone yere

alwayes next aftir the commytting of any offence contrarie to the fourme and tenour of any of the said Actis and Statutis vnto and before the said Conseruatours, wherevpon processe shalbe made oute by theym for thoffendours of and in the said Actis personally tappere before theym at resonable daye or dayes taunswere vnto their said transgression/And in cace any of the said Sergeauntis cannot duely truely [29b] and euydently prove suche matier so he or they shalhave detected or accused any persone of, thene the same Sergeauntis shall susteyne bere and paye double dammages for the costis and chargis of euery suche parties soo wrongfully accused or more as it shalbe thought resonable by the said Conseruatours/The said Sergeauntis allwayes shall haue perceive and take for their paynes and labours suche penalties as be conteyned in the said Statutis popular or penall and none others/Soo alwayes that the said Sergeauntis doo it w^{t}in oon yere next and ymmediatly ensuyng the commytting of euery suche offence/

5. Item all and euery the parties accused in fourme aforsaid shall have suche libertie chalenge and triall of yn and vpon their said accusacions for any of their Acquytallis [f. 30] in such fauourable and laufull wise as the due Course of the Common lawe woll permytte and suffre theym to haue in any accions of Debte or trespace saving that euery persone making aunswere in writing before the said Conseruatours shalbe sworne oon a boke that as moche parte of his said aunswere as concernythe his owne faite he knowethe the same to be true and soche parte thereof as concernythe thacte or faite of any other he supposethe it to be true/

6. Item the said conseruatours shalhave a seall belonging vnto their Courte wherein shalbe gravid on the oon syde a Shippe w^{t} tharmes of the kingis highnes on it, And on the [othir side shalbe gravid a] plughe two hande Cardis a hammer and a spade signifying that by labour and tilling of the erthe and by the good industrye of draping of clothes and of [30b] marchauntis ffisshers maryners [myners] and handy craftis the greate bourdene of the Common weale of the Realme ymmediatly and nexte vndir the Kingis highnes his nobilitie and Chevalrye is and in tymes paste hathe bene alweys susteyned mayntened and borne to the greate honour prouffite and enriching of all the subiectis of the same/

7. Item the said Conseruatours shalhaue full powre and auctoritie by vertue of this presente Acte to cause all and euery

Shiref or Shireffis aswell w^{t}in liberties as w^{t}oute to retourne before theym suche Enquestis sufficiente of ffree holde as shalbe mete to serue the Kingis highnes and *to* trie almaner of issues betwene his highnes and any his subiectis being accused before theym as oftene as the cace shall requyre/and euery persone ympanelled on any Enqueste and warned tappere before theym and [f. 31] making defaulte shalllese and forfaite suche yssues and fynes as hathe and is accustumed to bee loste before Justicis of Assise in their Circuytis And the same Conseruatours shall geve Judgemente for the discharge of euery partie ymmediately vpon euery their acquyetall, orellis awarde and addresse processe for Recouere of euery condempnacion aswell againste the bodie of the partie condempned as againste his goodis and Cataillis as in that cace in other Courtis is or heretofore hathe beene accustumed.

8. Item if any partie accused of breking or offending of or in any the forsaid Actis or Statutis popular or penall not Repelled personally shall appere before the said Conseruatours and there opennely knowledge his defaulte and submytte hymself before the said Conseruatours vnto the will and mercye of the Kingis highnes his heiers or successours thene, they the same Conseruatours shalhaue [31b] full powre and auctoritie by vertue of this presente Acte not to vse the Rigour of euery Acte or Statute agaynste any partie soo submytting hymself, but to moderate tempre and qualifie the Rigour and extremytie of euery of the same Actis and Statutis, and to Cesse such resonable fyne or fynes vpon hym as they by their discrecions shall thinke good and requisite And ouer that they shalhaue full powre and auctoritie to geve dayes and Respite vpone good suerties for payemente of the same fyne or fynes vnto thuse of the kingis highnes his heiers or Successours accordingly/And in like wise they shall doo and cesse suche fyne or fynes for the Sergeaunte that hathe accused hym for his satisfaction at dayes of payemente as they shall thinke good and resonable yn euery behalf/

9. Item almaner of sommes of money of for and vpon any maner of fynes yssues forfaitures or condempnacions loste [f. 32] and forfaited before the said Conseruatours to the kingis vse shalbe yerely paied vnto the vse of his highnes at the Receipte of his Eschequyer to thandis of the Tresaurour and Chamberlaines of the same for the tyme being and all and euery Acte or other thing done before the same Conseruatours whereby any persone or persones shalbe charged or bounde to paye any somme

or sommes of money to the vse of the kingis highnes his heiers or successours oute *of* hande or at dayes shalbe by the pronotorye or by the Clerke of Counsaill appoyntid vnto the said Conseruatours estraitid fromethens into the kingis Courte of his Eschequyer two tymes of the yere in like maner and fourme as Estreytis bee made [into the said Eschequyer] oute of the kinges highe Courte of Chauncerye/Soo as the Barons of the same Eschequyer alweys vpone the Receipte thereof maye make oute due and indelayed processe vnto the Shireffis of euery Countie & libertie w^t^in any of the kingis domynyons for Recouere of the same [32b] to thuse of the kingis said highnes according to the tenour entente and purpoos of this presente Acte/

10. Item the said Conseruatours at the ioynyng of euery yssue betwene the kingis highnes and any of his subiectis of and vpon any Acte or Statute popular [or penall] aforesaid shall haue full powre and auctoritie by vertue of this presente Acte taddresse their processe vndir their said Seall vnto the Justicis of Assise in euery Countie of this Realme two tymes of the yere (if nede shall soo requyre) for the triall of the said yssue in the Countie where the matier liethe before the same Justicis in due fourme according to thordre of the Common lawe, whiche processe the Clerke of thassise for the tyme being shall alweys retourne againe before the said Conseruatours in like maner and fourme as it shalbe founde before the said Justicis of Assise at the begynnyng of the terme next ensuyng the [f. 33] fynding of the same vpon payne to lose and forfaite vnto the kingis highnes the somme of tenne poundis for euery defaulte.

11. Item if any person or persones accused before the said Conseruatours happeane to meynteyne plee and to bee condempned in any sommes of money and will not paye or satisfie the same, thene aswell in that cace as for all and euery other contemptate mysbehavy*our* . . . or yll demeanure commyttid by any persone before theym or in their presence sitting at the Courte, the prisone of the flete shalbe the place to commytte all suche offendours vnto there to remayne vntill suche tyme as they by their discrecion or by sufficiente discharge frome the kingis highnes shall enlarge theym oute and frome the same.

12. Item euery persone being accused or callid and making his apperaunce before the said Conseruatours shall not departe frome theym w^t^oute their especiell licence upon payne to lose and forfaite vnto the kingis said highnes the somme [33b] of fyve poundis and euery persone admonyshed by their especiell

writing tappere before theym that obstynatly makethe defaulte and willing doth absente hymself shalbe amarced by the said Conseruatours the furste tyme in iij^{s} iiij^{d} the second tyme in vj^{s} viij^{d} the thirde tyme in xiij^{s} iiij^{d} the fourthe tyme in twentie shillingis the fifte tyme in fourtie shillingis and soo to double as long as willingly and obstynatly he will absente and w^{t}drawe hymself frome making of his apperence before the said Conseruatours at suche dayes and tymes as they shall and woll appoynte vnto any suche partie.

13. Item it is ordeyned establisshed and enacted by thauctoritie aforesaid that this presente Acte or ordynaunce shall not be hurtefull or preiudiciall vnto any of the Justicis of Assise Justicis of quorum or of peas Justicis of Shewers nor to any Enheritours or officers [mayres Bailiffis or others] of this Realme for punyshing of any offence or mysbehaviour in any their Courtis or letis [f. 34] according vnto the tenour of any of the forsaid Actis or Statutis but that they and euery of theym maye frely doo ponyshe and execute all and euery offence in like maner and fourme as they mought have done at any tyme before the making of this presente Acte/Soo that alwayes [that] they and euery of theym doo prevente their ponishemente before any warning or monycion shalbe gevene to the partie offending by any of the forsaid sergeauntis And if any sergeaunt shall chaunce to prevente any of theym, thene the said Conseruatours shalhaue and take the fynall ordre ponyshemente and determynacion thereof to thuse of the kingis highnes his heiers and successours be it w^{t}in libertie or w^{t}oute in like maner fourme and effecte and w^{t} suche like favour as by vertue and auctoritie of this presente Acte they bee lymyttid to doo/as it is before reherced if they or any of theym submytte theymselfis/

[34b] 14. Item the said Conseruatours shall appoynt in writing subscribed w^{t} their handis [to be openly hanged vp in a table nere vnto their Courte] what fee or fees their pronotory or Clerke of Counsaill shall take of euery partie appering before theym for entring of their plees taking of any Recognisaunce making of apperence, making oute of Copies or other wise [1] Soo as for any oon Copie or other writing to bee entrid into their bokis or to bee made or gevene oute of their bokis, there be no oon some demaundid or takene for any oon thing aboue twelf pence sterlinges be it neuer so long upon payne to forfaite treble dammage vnto the partie greved and more, as the said Con-

[1] Substituted for "writing."

seruatours by their discrecion shall thinke good [if any complaynte bee made thereof] And all plees and entries to be made before the said Conseruatours always shalbe pletid spokene entred and done in our maternall Englisshe tong and in none other language/And the fee of the said Sealle shalle not excede foure pence for any thing that shalle passe the said Conseruatours/the proufitis whereof shalle susteyne the chargis of oone or twoo officers to bee appoyntid to serue the said Conseruatours [always] sitting the Courte/

[f. 35] 15. Item it is ordeyned and enacted by thauctoritie aforesaid that euery of the said Conseruatours for their entertaynyng shall yerely haue perceive and take for their chargis and paynes to bee susteyned in and about the premysses the some of oon hundred poundes sterl*ing* And the said pronotorie or Clerke of Counsaill oon hundred merkes sterlinges To bee had and yerely to bee paied at two seuerall termes of the yere by even porcions of thissues and Reuenues of the Kinges highnes oute of thoffice of the hanaper by thandes of the Clerk or officer of the same for the tyme being who by vertue of this presente Acte shalhaue full powre authoritie and comaundemente to contente and paye the same/And the seuerall Acquytauncis of any of the said Conseruatours or of the said pronotorie or Clerke of Counsaill testifying the Receipte of the said fees shalbe frome tyme to tyme sufficiente warraunte [35b] and discharge vnto the Clerk or officer of the said hanaper alwayes vpon the declaracion of his accompte in that behalf.

16. Item all the said Conseruatours orels five foure or thre of theym whereof alweys oon of theym that is lerned in the lawe to bee oon as is afore lymittid shalhaue full powre and authoritie to doo awarde and put in playne and undelayed experience and due execucion all and euery of the premysses awell as yf all six of theym were alwayes personally presente at the doing of the same/

17. Item that none aduauntage shalbe takene by any persone or persones by reason of any discontynuaunce or Erroure of any matier or processe hanging pledid or comensed before the said Conseruatours/

[f. 36] 18. Item the said Conseruatours during the tyme of euery of the foure termes shall sytte and assemble theymselfes in the place before reherced euery daye thre houres before none and thre houres at aftir none for audience and determynacion of all and almaner of causes and matiers depending yn anywise

before theym bitwene the Kingis highnes and any of his said subiectis/

19. Item all and euery Escheitoure of this Realme shalhaue full powre and authoritie by virtue of this presente Acte to sytte and enquyre aswell within liberties as withoute of and vpon all and euery offence committid or done contrarie to the effecte tenour and purporte of any of the said Actis or Statutis popular or penalle/Soo as the same Escheitour or Escheitours furste haue a Commyssion or a Comaundemente addressed vnto theym in writing vndir the seall of the said [36b] Conseruatours soo to doo/And aftir the fynding of euery suche office the same Escheitour or Escheitours and euery of them shall Retourne the said officis soo founde before theym vnto the said Conseruatours alweys within two monethes next aftir the fynding of any of the same offices vpon payne to lose and forfaite vnto the kingis highnes the somme of xxli/And euery persone or persones founde faultie or being accused or detectid in or by any of the said offices for the breking or violacion of any of the Actis or Statutis aforesaid shalhaue libertie by the space of thre monethes next aftir the fynding of euery of the same officis to put in his travers before the said Conseruatours to thentente to travers the same for his defence againste the kingis highnes if he will in suche maner and fourme as in all other traversis heretofore it hathe bene accustumed in other Courtis within this [f. 37] Realme/And if any suche partie doo or shall surceasse his tyme of the said thre monethis to put in his travers in fourme aforsaid, or ellis within the same tyme of [the same] thre monethes doo not submytte hymself vnto the will and pleasure of the kingis said highnes to be thereupon ordred with fauour in suche maner and fourme as in this presente Acte [vpon euery submyssion] it is before reherced, that thene the said office or officis soo founde ageynst any such partie shalbe . . . reputid takene and adiudged agaynst hym by the said Conseruatours for a Clere and playne Conviccion and Condempnacion foreuer/

20. Item if any persone or persones shall chaunce at any tyme hereaftir within any Counties or liberties of this Realme or within any other place of any of the king [37b] our soueraine lordis dominions aswell in and vpon lande as in or vpon any watirs freshe or Salte to doo or tattempte any devise practice or experience whiche hathe bene is or in tyme to come shalbe thought vnto the said Conseruatours to bee hurtefull or preiudiciall to the Comon weale of this Realme, and none Acte statute

prouysion or ordynaunce made for Refourmacion of the same/ That thene alweyes and in that cace the said Conseruatours shall addresse their lettres of sub pena vnto the parties soo attempting Comaunding theym upon a certaine payne personally tappere before theym in the white haule or in any other place to theym appoyntid as is aforesaid/And vpon their apparence the said Conseruatours shall in nowise permitte or suffre theym to departe but dayly tenioyene [theym] to make their personall apparence aswell before none as at aftir [f. 38] none vntill suche tyme as they [by their othe shalhaue disclos*ed* . . . of as many other] whiche they doo knowe that in . . . r and fourme haue attemptid to hurte and dam . . . comon weale as t*hey* haue done and alsoo shalbe contente to] bee bounde to thuse of the kingis said highnes by Recognisaunce in suche somme or sommes of money as the said Conseruatours shall thinke good, that they and euery of theym fromthensfourthe shall leve of forbere and desiste any suche tattempte intromytte vse or medle of or in any suche practise experience or devise aftir that tyme And it is ordeyned and enacted by vertue of t*his* presente Acte that all and euery Recognisaunce t*aken* and knowlegid before the said Conseruatours aswell *in this* behalf as in all other matiers and causes shall sta*nd* and be good availeable and effectuell in the law*e* in euery behalf and to all intentis in like manner and fourme as if they had bene knowlegid and taken in the kingis high Courte of Chauncery/

[38b] 21. The othe of the Conseruatours.

(*The rest of the page is blank.*)

[f. 39] The othe of the pronotorye or Clerc of Counsaill.

(*Two-thirds of the page is blank. At the foot*—)

Woordis to be gravene aboute bothe sides the seall if it bee the kingis pleasure/on the oon sid wold be gravene thies wordis/ Almyghtie god preserue the kingis highnes our suppreme hed ymmediatly on erthe vndir god

on the other side wolde bee gravene thies woordis/See that ye conserue marchauntis drapry the plough maryners ffisshers and handy Craftis/

Folios 39b–41b, *and* 24–24b (*the original final leaf*) *all blank.*

THE HOLLES FAMILY [1]

By A. C. Wood, B.Litt., M.A., D.Phil., F.R.Hist.S.

Read 14 *November*, 1935.

Gervase Holles, the Lincolnshire Antiquary (1607–75), was the representative of a junior branch of that family which acquired the Earldom of Clare from James I, produced the famous Denzil Holles, and in 1694 was elevated to the Dukedom of Newcastle.[2] Gervase was a keen student of genealogy, heraldry, records and antiquities, and it was his ambition, inspired perhaps by the work of his friend, Sir William Dugdale,[3] on Warwickshire, to produce an account " both historicall and genealogicall " of his own native county. But the outbreak of the civil war in 1642

[1] Several of the following anecdotes relating to members of the Holles family are included in this paper by permission of Professor L. V. D. Owen, editor of the *Reports and Papers of the Associated Architectural and Archæological Societies of Lincolnshire and Northamptonshire* (Vol. 40, part II, 1931).

[2] John, fourth Earl of Clare (1662–1711), married Margaret, daughter and coheiress of Henry Cavendish, second Duke of Newcastle, whose title was revived in his favour by William III 14 May, 1694.

[3] Holles calls him " the best of our English antiquaries." His judgments on some of the other contemporary antiquaries are interesting. Doddesworth he describes as " a laborious searcher into Recordes, but he wanted that judgment and accurate observation which was requisite in making right use of them." Of Samuel Roper he wrote : " I have been assured by worthy persons that know him well that he hath not beene unapt to forge such fables : a foule thing and very unbefitting a gentleman ; but what ugly thing will not that man do that wilbe contrary to his conscience and knowledge (as he hath beene) a traytour to his lawfull soveraigne." St. Loe Kniveton, the Derbyshire antiquary, he praises as " the most industrious and judicious person " of his time " concerning such recordes as related to our English families." Richard Gascoyne is dismissed as " that industrious old man very often subject (to my knowledge) to mistakes of inadvertency and want of judgment."

ruined this project. Enlisting at once in the King's forces he served throughout the struggle, and was among the royalist prisoners taken in Colchester, August, 1648. For a time he was imprisoned, but after the execution of King Charles he was permitted to go into exile in Holland. Although he compounded for his estates in 1653 he remained abroad until the Restoration. This "damned and dire rebellion," as he called it, deprived him of a large part of his collections, but "the remaynder of the wrack" he successfully got over to the Netherlands, and with its aid he resolved to beguile the tedium of banishment by writing an account of his family and its history—a task for which he was well qualified both by deep researches into his ancestry and by the personal knowledge or inherited traditions which he possessed of many of his forbears.

Two manuscripts exist of this family history—both of them in Holles' own hand. One, a thin quarto volume, undated but containing his signature, is preserved in the library at Welbeck Abbey. It contains 102 pages of writing and the text breaks off abruptly in the middle of a sentence while the youth of Sir John Holles, first Earl of Clare, is being described. It was probably a first rough draught and was abandoned in favour of the other and much fuller account which is now in the possession of the Marquess of Bath at Longleat. This is a stout folio which contains 228 closely written pages interspersed with drawings by the author of seals, coats of arms and funeral monuments. Its first seventy-two pages cover the same ground as the Welbeck MS., but in considerably greater detail. Where the two narratives run parallel the arrangement and phraseology are, except for minor differences, the same. The Longleat MS. is dated from Gravenhagh 1658, but internal evidence shows that some parts of it were written before 1655. Like the Welbeck MS. it breaks off abruptly in the early part of a chapter devoted to the author's own life story, and it is a sad misfortune that he did not carry on the narrative to include some account of his exploits

during the Civil War. Arthur Collins was aware of this Manuscript and in his *Historical Collections of Noble Families*, published in 1752, he incorporated a fairly full adaptation of its contents so far as they related to the main branch of the family, represented by the Earls of Clare. Otherwise, curiously enough considering the use which has been made of Gervase Holles' collections in the British Museum, it seems to have escaped any further notice. I hasten to add that I can claim no merit for its rediscovery. It was the late Sir Charles Firth who drew my attention to this omission and suggested that I should track out the whereabouts of the two copies. By the kindness of the Duke of Portland and the Marquess of Bath I have done this and have made transcripts of them both, for the information, if it were desired, of the Fellows of this Society.

The narrative spans five generations of the family's history and in addition contains long and fully documented genealogical accounts of the Denzil, Frescheville and Clifton families, with whom the Holles' had intermarried. Though I am no genealogist these surveys seem to me to be of some importance and to supplement the information hitherto available about the pedigrees of those families.[1] Moreover, they are more than mere tables of descent ; along with the evidence from charters, final concords, inquisitions and monumental inscriptions—usually set forth in full—they contain such facts as Holles knew about the lives of the various individuals who appear in them, and his first-hand information of those among them who were his contemporaries enabled him to paint a series of life-like portraits. Thus his account of John Frescheville [2] and the part he

[1] Thus Holles' account of the Denzil family amplifies the descent (worked out from his collections in the British Museum) printed in the *Ancestor*, XII, pp. 119–24 ; he anticipated in narrative form the mass of evidence for the descents of the Fitz-Hubert, Musard and Frescheville families collected by Sir Fred. Madden (in *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, IV) ; and his account of the Cliftons augments Dr. Thoroton's treatment of that famous Notts family.

[2] First Lord Frescheville (1606–82). One of the Knights of the Shire for Derbyshire 1628 ; fought at the first battle of Newbury ; fortified his

played in the Civil War, and of Sir Gervase the Gentle of Clifton [1] are both intimate pen pictures drawn from close personal knowledge.

The account given by our author of the ascent of the Holles family is a striking "close up" of the rise of a typical "new" Tudor family from the counting-house to the coronet. As the varying careers and fortunes of successive generations of merchants, squires, soldiers and peers pass in review a veritable pageant of human experience is unrolled, and the individuals are made to live by an inside knowledge, an intimacy of detail and a wealth of anecdote. Their appearances, manner of life, frailties, even their favourite oaths and striking sayings are all recorded. Some of the brood touched the main stream of history: Sir John Holles, first Earl of Clare, walked all his life upon the verge of greatness without ever crossing the magic line, while the brief career of the young William Holles throws some interesting side lights upon the Civil War; others of them, as country squires in Nottinghamshire or Lincolnshire, passed their days in uneventful backwaters—but they all "live" equally through the loving pen of their kinsman. Indeed, the whole vast canvas is suffused by the appealing character of its author. Pious both towards God and his ancestors, proud of his birth but of a real humility of spirit, unaffected in his fervent royalism yet with the scholar's instinct to walk the narrow way of truth, Gervase Holles in narrating the story of his forbears at the same time transferred to paper the true image of his own personality.

house at Staveley for the King and was subsequently made Governor of Welbeck. After the Restoration he became Governor of York and was again returned to Parliament for Derbyshire in 1661. In 1665 he was raised to the peerage as Baron Frescheville of Staveley, but he left no heir and the title lapsed on his death.

[1] First Baronet, 1587–1666. M.P. in 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, 1626, 1628, 1640, 1661. His seven marriages linked him with some of the most powerful families in the kingdom. Among his familiar correspondents were Sir Thos. Wentworth (to whom he was brother-in-law), the Earls of Newcastle, Kingston and Exeter, Sir Harry Vane and Thos. Hobbes. He was one of the King's Commissioners of array during the Civil War and was in Newark during the final siege of 1645–6.

And it was all done with a gift for simple telling style and diction which lends rare charm to the seemingly artless chronicle. To catch in a brief paper like this anything of the ethos of his narrative is impossible. All that I can hope to do is to indicate by a swift survey of its contents the character and scope of the memorial which he raised to the memory of his progenitors.

It will be seen from the concise Table appended to this paper that the family descent emerges from obscurity at the close of the fifteenth century. The first Earl of Clare believed that he was descended from a cadet of a family of "Holes" which undoubtedly held lands in Mobberley, Cheshire, in Richard the Second's reign [1]; but our Antiquary, well aware how often guesswork and vanity deputised for veracity in such matters, contented himself with the cautious assertion that the name probably had a generous origin, but that (like the River Arethusa) it had run for some time as it were underground in obscurity. Thomas Holles, a yeoman of the village of Stoke near Coventry, Warwickshire, is the first of the family to stand out with anything like authenticity. He was born in Henry the Sixth's reign and probably died while Henry VII was on the throne. That he was a real figure is proved by the reference to him in his son's apprenticeship bond, and his memory lingered on at Stoke as late as the eighteenth century.[2]

He had three sons: Thomas, William and Edward. Thomas was a priest, possibly beneficed in or near Coventry. Of Edward nothing is known. It was the second son, William, who raised the fortunes of the family and laid the foundations of its future rise to greatness. Born about the year 1471 he was bound apprentice to Robert Kervile, a

[1] Ormerod, *History of Cheshire*, II, p. 548.

[2] Tradition ascribed the site of his dwelling to a piece of land still known in the eighteenth century as the "Hall Piece," and a note in the parish register made in 1766 records that an inhabitant then aged 83 remembered this field being ploughed, at which time large stones were turned up by the plough. Blyth, *History of Stoke*, p. 53.

mercer of London, and in course of time achieved the freedom and the mastership of the Mercers Company.[1] He also traversed the usual *cursus honorum* of civic life, being chosen Sheriff in 1528, knighted 1533, and elected Lord Mayor 1539. In this last capacity it fell to him to welcome into London Anne of Cleves with suitable "orations, pageants and all compliments of State." Such facts are in themselves sufficient proof of the prosperity which attended his career as a London merchant, and when he died in 1542 he left a vast estate—"as great," wrote his descendant, "as ever Lord Mayor had before him." Either in his own name or in those of his children he had purchased lands in London and in Essex, Norfolk, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Staffordshire and Yorkshire which, even when they were parcelled out, provided a princely inheritance for the three sons whom his wife, Elizabeth Scopham, had borne him. Of his character and appearance no recollection had survived when Gervase Holles was writing, and even the inscription on his tomb in St. Helen's Church, Bishopgate Street, was almost completely obliterated. But the superb cross at Coventry, for the erection of which he made provision in his will, remained to keep alive his memory in his native county until the eighteenth century. He left three sons—Thomas, William and Francis, the last named of whom died without heirs only a few months after his father. Sir William's daughter Anne, who married John Whiddon of Chagford, Devon, a Justice of the Queen's Bench (1553),[2] predeceased her parents.

The senior branch of the family, represented by the eldest son, Thomas, and his descendants, was reduced to abject poverty in three generations by an inherited spirit of extravagance and wildness. Thomas himself, aided by his wife, Catherine Payne, a lady of the Court who had

[1] He was Warden 1519 and Master 1529.

[2] Foss, *Judges of England V*, pp. 339, 545–6. They had a daughter Joan married to one Ashley of Norfolk.

been a maid of honour to Catherine of Aragon,[1] squandered his vast patrimony, and if tradition be true died in a debtor's prison. He had several children [2] of whom William Holles, born 24 September, 1539, was the eldest surviving son, but beyond the fact that he married a daughter of Sir Edward Flowerdew of Hetherset, Norfolk, one of the Barons of the Exchequer (1584),[3] Gervase Holles knew nothing of him or his fate. His son Edward trailed a pike in the Netherlands while he was a youth. Then he returned to England, married, and was sustained for a time by the bounty of his relative, the Earl of Clare. But this, for some unknown reason, was subsequently withdrawn, and he died in utter want, leaving one son, Francis, and a daughter married to a poor tradesman in London. In Francis Holles the story reached a sorry close. Orphaned as a child the ragamuffin boy was picked off the streets of London by the Earl of Clare, brought up as a page, and then bound apprentice to a jeweller in the capital. But the lad was proud, wayward and ill-disciplined, and at length he and another apprentice robbed their master and ran away. He was never heard of again.

The family fortunes were preserved and enhanced through the line of the second son William, who, along with his brother Thomas, had been knighted at Edward the Sixth's coronation. To him the father, perhaps suspecting the ill destiny of his eldest son, left "very fayre revenues." Either directly, or after the decease of his mother and his brother Francis, this second Sir William

[1] "Slips transplanted from that soyle for the most part make but ill proofe in the country," comments Gervase Holles.

[2] In a Manuscript belonging to the Earl of Leicester (*Les Statutes d'Angleterre XXXV*) is an insertion, badly rubbed and in parts indecipherable, containing some information about births and deaths in the Holles family. According to this, Thomas Holles had three sons and two daughters. William was probably the second of the sons. Thomas and William Holles, both *impubes*, were matriculated from Pembroke College, Cambridge, at Easter, 1550. Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses, Part I, Vol. II.

[3] Foss, V, pp. 486–7.

acquired most of the family estates in Lincolnshire, numerous manors in Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire and Staffordshire, and lands and tenements in the parishes of St. Clement Danes, St. Giles, St. Pancras and Kentishtown " which landes of Midlesex," wrote Gervase Holles, " by the improvement and building upon them yield his heyre at this present a revenue of about 3000 *lib.* per annum and when the leases are expired they may treble that valew." In addition to all these he obtained through his first wife [1] Anne, elder daughter and co-heiress of John Denzil of Denzil, Cornwall, half of the Denzil lands in that county.

This marriage took place in 1535 when Sir William was 26 years old. Soon after his father's death he settled at Haughton in Nottinghamshire, the old home of the Stanhopes which the first Sir William had purchased in 1537, and he largely rebuilt the manor house there which henceforth became the chief seat of his progeny. Here he spent the remainder of his long life and when he died in January, 1591, he was the oldest knight in Nottinghamshire.[2] Gervase Holles, drawing his information from those who could well remember the old squire, painted an attractive portrait of his great grandfather. He was a sort of sixteenth-century Sir Roger de Coverley, openhanded, hospitable, plain of speech and of a simple though strong character. He lived in considerable state, keeping his own private troop of players and appearing at the Retford sessions with a retinue of thirty servants. But behind this pomp there lay a kindly and approachable disposition which won for him the soubriquet among the country people of the " good Sir William " or " the good Lord of Haughton "—names which still lingered in Nottinghamshire even when Gervase Holles was writing more than sixty years after his death.[3] Sir Percival Willoughby of Wollaton spoke of him as " the

[1] His second wife by whom he had no issue was Jane, daughter of Sir Richard Grosvenor, Bart.

[2] He was one of the Knights of the Shire for Notts in the Parliament of 1553. Pink MSS. 304, f. 480.

[3] Thoroton also speaks of him as " The good Sir William."

wonder of this country for a settled house and constant hospitality "—and at Christmas his provision for all comers was Gargantuan. From All-Hallowtide to Candlemas any man could reside at Haughton for three days without being asked whence he came or who he was. Ordinarily he never sat down to dine until one o'clock because, as he was wont to explain, " for ought he knew there might a friend come twenty miles to dine with him and he would be loth he should lose his labour." Of his unassuming independence a striking story was told. George Lord Clifford, Earl of Cumberland,[1] fell in love with his daughter Gertrude and sought her hand in marriage, but despite the earnest solicitations of his friends, who urged the brilliance of the match, he rejected the offer. " Sake of God " (which was his usual oath), he broke out, " I do not like to stand with my cap in my hand to my son-in-law. I will see her married to an honest gentleman with whom I may have friendship and conversation "—and in the end she was wedded in 1578 to Walter Stanley of West Bromwich, a cadet of the great house of Knowsley. Sir William's piety was as constant as his hospitality. Twice every day to the end of his life he and his whole family repaired to the little chapel of St. James [2] which stood in Haughton grounds to hear divine service celebrated, and in its mortuary chapel he was eventually buried. He was short of stature and his face grave but ruddy. To the end he retained his vigour and daily walked around the park at Haughton—a compass of between two and three miles. Indeed, his story was a radiant one. He was opulent, honoured and loved, he enjoyed a long and healthy life which spanned some of the greatest and most stirring days his country had ever known, and his domestic life was one of unalloyed happiness. The well-being of his posterity, concluded his descendant, " I

[1] Third Earl, 1558–1605. Famous as a naval commander and privateer in the war with Spain. His life is in the *D.N.B.*

[2] Haughton Hall has vanished, but the ruins of this chapel still stand on the banks of the River Idle.

think I may most justly ascribe to God's reward upon his goodness . . . for one good parent entayles blessings often times upon many generations."

Besides their daughter Gertrude he and his wife Anne Denzil had three sons, Denzil, Gervase and Christopher, but the last named died young and unmarried. The eldest son Denzil also died in 1590 before his father. He was born about 1538 and married Eleanor, the daughter of Edmund, first Lord Sheffield of Butterwick,[1] towards the end of Queen Mary's reign. On his marriage his father settled on him considerable estates in Lincolnshire, and he resided henceforth at Irby, about four miles from Grimsby —a lordship which he enclosed, fencing the farms with quick-set hedges and leaving large commons, which, according to Gervase Holles who knew the area well, had " added much to the beauty of the place and conveniency of the inhabitants." As a young man he served in 1569 in the royal army against the rebel Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, and in 1584 and 1586 he sat in Parliament for East Retford.[2] Like his father he was broad-chested and of a strong physique, though stone and gout killed him, in the end, in middle life. In spirit also he inherited Sir William's sturdy independence, and alone among the magistracy of Lincolnshire he dared to stand up to Henry, Earl of Lincoln,[3] who tyrannised over the gentry of that county—a boldness in which he was no doubt encouraged by the high favour which Queen Elizabeth showed to his wife's nephew, Lord Sheffield, first Earl of Mulgrave. In another respect he differed widely from the devout old squire of Haughton, for his proficiency in the art of love made his neighbours tremble for their wives, and though his own wife bore him many children his affections overflowed in a succession of ambiguous relationships. He

[1] 1521–49. He was created a peer 1547 and was slain at Norwich 1549 while helping to suppress Ket's rebellion.

[2] Pink MSS. 304, f. 466.

[3] Died 1616. His conduct betrayed clear signs of insanity.

died 22 April, 1590, and was buried in the chancel of Irby church.

Three of his five sons had distinguished careers. The third boy, George (born 1577), was sent to Christ's College, Cambridge,[1] but he soon slipped over to the Netherlands and there for some years he trailed a pike in the company of Sir Francis Vere. Abandoning all idea of returning to England he resolved to adopt the military career and he rose by successive promotions to be Sergeant-Major-General of the English Brigade serving with the Dutch in the Low Countries against Spain. He fought with conspicuous valour in all the principal sieges and actions of the time, and in 1609 he was knighted. Tall, thin, taciturn but choleric like most of his stock, and utterly fearless he was the perfect soldier of fortune. "His spirit and courage (both upon publique services and in private differences)," wrote Gervase Holles who knew him well, "was so great as nothing but themselves can expresse them." In the autumn of 1625 he was ordered to bring over to England a picked body of Sergeants who might be distributed throughout the country to improve the training and discipline of the militia, and falling ill while he was in London, he died there 19 May, 1626, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.[2] He never married, "binding up his posterity in his owne stocke of honour."

Thomas Holles, his younger brother (born 1580), also went to Cambridge and then on to Gray's Inn, but after four or five years not very successfully spent there he too escaped to the Low Countries and became a soldier in the English brigade.[3] By 1632 he had risen to be Lieutenant-

[1] He matriculated 1593–4. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, Part I, Vol. II, p. 396.

[2] There is an account of his funeral in *H.M.C. 4th Report*, p. 289.

[3] He went over in 1605. Apparently he had protested against the inadequacy of his allowance, but his eldest brother, Sir John Holles, wrote back: "You make your scant allowance the scarecrow of your study. That £30 per annum is too short for a mongrel course betwixt a student and a reveller I confess, but sufficient for such as intend that business only in such equipage as thereunto belongeth." *H.M.C. Portland*, IX, pp. 15–17.

Colonel. In his youth, like his brother George, he was wild, but time made him "a great example of piety and temperance." His diet was abstemious, he hated profanity, punishing his men severely for swearing and blasphemy, and he was personally devout. He had absorbed the Calvinistic discipline of his hosts and was no friend of the Anglican Church. Yet when his nephew, Denzil Holles, persuaded him to return to England at the opening of the Civil War and he was offered high command in the parliamentary ranks he refused, saying "they tell me of religion and liberty, and truly I love religion as well as any man, but I do not understand the religion of rebellion." His wife, a Dutch lady, Catherine van Ecke, died in tragic circumstances, being drowned in Haarlem Mere by the breaking of the ice as she journeyed by sleigh towards Amsterdam (January, 1641), and less than two years later (26 Oct., 1642, N.S.) he himself succumbed to a "dead palsy" in a Brabant village, where he was buried. They had had two sons and two daughters. The elder daughter, Eleanor, died unmarried in 1665, Elizabeth her sister married, but left no children. Denzil, the elder son, died in childhood. George, the second boy, started his career as a page to the Prince of Orange, and then became an Ensign in one of the English regiments in Flanders, but he also died young, leaving no issue, in March, 1655.

It was John, the eldest son of Denzil Holles of Irby, who ennobled the family, and he forms the central, favourite portrait in Gervase's long gallery. But I propose to pass him over both because space will not permit me to deal adequately with his career and because Sir Charles Firth, using Collin's extracts from the Holles MS. has contributed his "life" to the *Dictionary of National Biography*. He purchased his two titles of Lord Haughton (1616) and Earl of Clare (1624) for £15,000,[1] but although he was as well

[1] For the Barony he gave £10,000, half of which went to the King and half to Winwood. (Birch, *Court and Times of James I*, I, p. 420; *Carew Letters* (Camden Society), p. 38.) The Earldom was acquired—through Buckingham's agency—for £5,000.

furnished in ability as money [1] and tugged hard at the skirts of fortune he never quite "arrived." King James I left him for eight years "without acknowledgement," while "followed by a crew of necessitous and hungry Scots" he "filled every corner of the Court with these beggarly blew caps"—and Holles' letters show how deeply he resented his exclusion from the sweets of office and power during "these overlooking times." The promise of a brighter future dawned when he was made Comptroller of the young Prince of Wales, Henry, in 1610. It was a position which offered great hopes of future advancement, but all were dashed when the young Prince died in November, 1612. "My hopes and fortunes," wrote Holles, "lie in the grave with him." He was one who had he lived "would have whipped both dogs and money-changers forth of the Temple" [2]—by which it is clear that Sir John's brows were still knit against the Scots. He was a candidate for the vacant Secretaryship of State in 1612,[3] he angled after the succession to Sir Arthur Chichester as Lord Deputy of Ireland,[4] he was said to have bid £10,000 for the Secretaryship when it again became empty in 1617 on the death of Winwood,[5] and if his relative the Antiquary can be believed, King James at the close of his reign betrayed intentions of making Clare Lord Treasurer. But again death intervened, and the earl himself died in retirement in 1637—a disappointed man—*tanquam piscis in aridum littus*, to use his own phrase. Starting with rare gifts and high hopes of rising to great station he never attained that success which his ambition sought and his friends anticipated. Sir Francis Needham offered one explanation—"For two sortes of men King James had never kindness for [*sic*]: those whose hawkes and dogges flew and run as well as his owne; and those who were able to speake as much reason as himselfe." With greater probability Gervase Holles ascribed his failure

[1] Before he died his income amounted to nearly £8,000 per annum.
[2] *H.M.C. Portland*, IX, pp. 8–11, 33.
[3] Birch, I, p. 172.
[4] *H.M.C. Portland*, IX, p. 20.
[5] *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1611–18, p. 494.

to the hostility of the Duke of Buckingham [1]—and perhaps in the background we can discern a radical defect of character, for he seems to have been of a combative resentful disposition, sharp of tongue and stiff in manner when crossed—not the type of man to stifle annoyance with a smile and charm away hostility by smooth speech and an urbane front. Tact and suavity were alike lacking to climb the coveted ladder of promotion.

From Clare the family historian turned back to the more picturesque figure of Gervase, the younger son of the second Sir William and brother to Denzil Holles of Irby. Born at Haughton in 1547 this Gervase early showed signs of an exuberance of spirit which made men speak of him as "Wild Holles." From Cambridge [2] he developed a taste for the military life and served as a volunteer for some years in the Netherlands and in Ireland. Then he returned to his father's house at Haughton. Nine or ten miles away at Staveley in Derbyshire dwelt Peter Frescheville, the head of an old and well-endowed family, between whom and Sir William Holles a close friendship existed. Frescheville had two daughters, Frances and Elizabeth, who were at this time coheiresses apparent not only to their father, but also through their mother Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir Gervase Clifton, to the Clifton lands. Frances, who was according to her grandson "one of the choycest beauties of hir time," soon lost her heart to the lively and gallant young Gervase, and they plighted their troth in secret, realising that her father would be unwilling to see "one of the greatest matches in the north of England" thrown away upon a younger son whose reputation was deplorable. Their secret was eventually discovered, but Gervase, with the connivance of the lady, abducted her while she was traversing Sherwood forest and they were promptly married

[1] Although he used the services of Buckingham to secure his earldom Clare was an opponent of the royal favourite "w^{ch} made the Duke marke his steps and pull him by the elbow when he thought him advancing."

[2] He matriculated from Christ's College in May, 1559. Peile, *Biographical Register of Christ's College*, I, p. 67.

in London. The wrath of the two old men was deeply stirred by this elopement. It was some years before Sir William Holles would be reconciled to his son, while Mr. Frescheville not only refused to see his daughter's face again, but he married a second time in his old age and had male issue which deprived the two daughters of their expectations of inheritance. Not until 1582, eight years after the marriage, did Sir William Holles relent sufficiently upon the importunity of his friends to settle his lands in Burgh in the Marsh in Lincolnshire upon Gervase and his heirs male.

After this reconcilement the young couple lived with him at Haughton, and it was from there that Gervase went out to serve as a volunteer in the fleet against the Armada. When his father died he removed (in February, 1591) to the Grey Friars at Grimsby.[1] He remained in Lincolnshire as long as Frances lived. After her death[2] he went to London where, by living frugally, he amassed considerable sums of money—and he was knighted at Theobalds 23 January, 1620/1.[3] But he lost a good deal of his money through his friendship with Sir Percival Willoughby of Wollaton, Notts. By speculation and debts Willoughby's fortunes were very reduced, and he borrowed over £3,000 from Gervase Holles for which no return was ever received except the transfer of some lands in Carlton, near Nottingham. When Holles was an old man he persuaded him to go and live at Wollaton and there, while he was dangerously ill, Sir Percival, so the family historian alleged, tricked him

[1] So Holles states. But it appears from an entry in the Registers of the Archdeaconry of Notts (transcripts of which by the late R. F. Hodgkinson, Esq., are in the Thoroton Society library) that for a time the young couple resided at Scrooby after leaving Haughton. On 8 May, 1592, Gervase Holles, gent, and Frances his wife of " Scrobye " were charged " for not communicating at Easter last."

[2] She died at Horncastle and was buried there, but the inscription on her monument did not record the date of her death. Holles, *Lincoln Church Notes* (Lincoln Record Society), p. 183.

[3] He kissed the King's hand so heartily that James " sware by his soule he was a hearty olde fellow."

into signing a release of all the debts due to him. The old man unexpectedly recovered and went back to Grimsby, but he could never be persuaded to take proceedings in the Star Chamber against his perfidious friend, arguing that "to sue a beggar was but to catch a lowse." He died at Grimsby 5 March, 1627/8, aged 80, and was buried in the north aisle of St. James's Church there. His grandson concluded tactfully of him that "he was as well furnished with learning as in his owne opinion befitted a gentleman" and that his early wildness gave place to "a great example of temperance and sobriety though not of continency." [1]

He left two legitimate sons, Frescheville and Francis. When he was only a boy of 16 or 17 Francis went over to the Netherlands to serve his military apprenticeship under Sir Francis Vere, and he subsequently sailed with Essex on the Azores expedition and served with Lord Mountjoy in Ireland. Then his father purchased for him the office of Muster-Master of the trained bands of Nottinghamshire upon the proceeds of which he henceforth lived "not uncomfortably nor unhandsomely." [2] He married Anne Lany of Berwick-on-Tweed, who brought him "little substance and not much beauty," but one son christened William.[3] As a scholar at Cambridge [4] this boy showed considerable promise, and he helped his cousin Gervase in amassing the transcripts which he was collecting for his projected history of Lincolnshire.[5] But when he was only 22 the Civil War broke out and he went at once with his father to Nottingham while the King was there in August, 1642, Francis saying that "had he twenty sonnes they

[1] He left two illegitimate children.

[2] He probably succeeded Captain Francis Markham who was buried at Boston, Lincs, 5 Jan., 1627 (Sir C. Markham, *Markham Memorials*, I, p. 63). His father also left him his lands in Carlton, near Nottingham.

[3] They had two sons, but Samuel, the younger, died in infancy.

[4] He went to Pembroke Hall (2 Oct., 1635), the Master of which, Dr. Benjamin Lany (later successively Bishop of Peterborough, Lincoln and Ely), was a kinsman of his.

[5] Gervase Holles states that he had ever placed this young cousin "both in my affections and intentions *in gradu filii*."

should all serve his Majesty in that quarrell, and he that refused should want his blessing." William fought as an officer in the royal army at Edgehill and in Yorkshire under the Earl of Newcastle. At length he was sent into the Newark garrison and here, during the second siege of that town by Sir John Meldrum, he was slain in action on 6 March, 1644, bravely striving to repel an attack on Muskham Bridge, one of the main keys of the royalist defences. His father retired to Haughton, the home of his relative the Earl of Clare, and died there in his eightieth year in 1656.

Frescheville Holles, the elder son of Sir Gervase, like so many of his stock, also fought in the Netherlands, serving for seven years under Sir Francis Vere. On his return he married, on 22 November, 1600, Elizabeth, the only child of John Kingston of Grimsby. In 1602 a son, John, was born, followed four years later, March, 1606/7, by another boy named Gervase, who was to record his families' fortunes. Only a few days later John died, and the mother went to church to bury the one child and give thanks for the other on the same day. The next year (18 October, 1608) she gave birth to a daughter, but both she and infant died a few days later. It was long before Frescheville's grief waned, but at length in 1613 he married Dorothy, widow of Francis Tyrwhit of West Keale in Lincolnshire. The match began in quaint circumstances. He was making his addresses to another lady, but they quarrelled one day while they were at Mrs. Tyrwhit's house, whereupon, records Gervase,

> my father (being cholerique) bid her go to the devile and sayd (his usual asseveration when he was angry) " Pres God (w^{ch} was his contraction of " I protest to God," for being in passion he spoke very thicke and short) I will marry the widow " ; to whom he presently in y^{t} humour applied himselfe ; and being very willingly entertained was married to hir within a little while after at West Kele.

Neither of their two sons, William and Darcy, survived infancy, and she died in 1618. The remainder of his life

he passed uneventfully at Grimsby (though his son's account of it contains some interesting glimpses of local society), and he died there 10 May, 1630. Unlike most of the males of his family he was of an exemplary continency and his piety was constant and unobtrusive. Gaming and a fiery temper were his two frailties, the latter an hereditary trait derived from his ancestors " and (God knows)," adds his son, " transferred to his posterity."

His first wife's family was a cadet branch of the Kingstons of Rothley, Leicestershire,[1] which had migrated to Grimsby [2] and been raised to comparative opulence by John Kingston in the reign of Henry VIII. As a merchant in Grimsby he made a comfortable fortune and purchased considerable estates in Lincolnshire.[3] These descended to his son, a second John Kingston, who soon dissipated most of his inheritance. He was Gentleman of the Horse to Edward, third Earl of Rutland (1549–87), who lived with the state of a prince, and to keep pace with the splendours of Belvoir the young retainer quickly ran deep into debt. He paid £220 for a single purchase of silks and satins in London, and even the earl tried to restrain his extravagance. At length, when most of his lands had been sold, he returned to Grimsby (of which he was twice mayor—in 1592 and 1605), and there he lived until his death in 1617. When he was 23 he had married Catherine, widow of Henry Needham of Kirtlington, Nottinghamshire, who was then nearly 40 years old.

" I have heard him say," wrote Gervase Holles, " y^{t} when he heard that hir husband was dead he swore (his usuall oath when he spoke earnestly) ' Body of our Lord ' I will go marry this olde widdow and pay my debts ; then when I have buried

[1] Their sepulchral monuments in the church there attest them to have been among the leading families in the district. See Nichols, *History of Leicestershire*, III, Pt. II, p. 960. Sir William Kingston, who was sent to conduct Cardinal Wolsey to the Tower in 1530, was of this family.

[2] One of them, Richard Kingston, was Abbot of Wellow in 1518.

[3] He was of sufficient consequence to be commissioned by Henry VIII in 1542 to raise musters against the Scots. *Lincoln Church Notes*, p. 9.

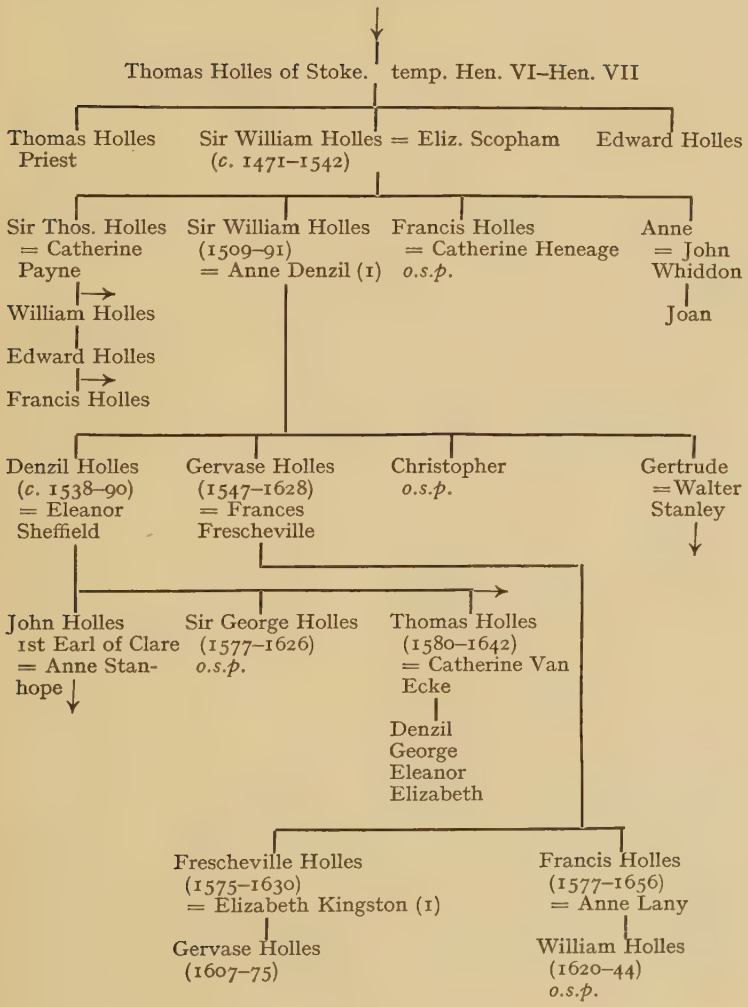
hir will I marry a young wench and get children.' This it seems was his designe, but shee deceaved him in part for shee held him tug above 38 yeares and lived neare 12 yeares after him."

They had only one daughter—Elizabeth, the wife of Frescheville Holles. Of his mettlesome spirit and his gallantry his grandson had many tales to tell. "Go thy wayes," a stranger once said to the Antiquary when he was a child, "take but after either of thy grandfathers and thou wilt neither run from man nor woman." Gervase, who knew John Kingston only "when Time had snowed upon his head," drew an attractive picture of the old man in his decline. Kindly and just in all his dealings, and always liberal in his disposition he preserved, for all his errant fancies, a gift for affection which he lavished on his daughter, and after her on his young grandson whom he kept in his house to the end despite the natural importunities of the father, Frescheville.

The closing chapter of the Manuscript is an autobiographical fragment which contains the story of Gervase Holles' early years and first marriage to Dorothy Kirketon of Grimsby in 1630—a love match which ended tragically by the death of his wife in child-birth four years later. The following year (1635) he lost his only son George, aged 2 years, who even at that tender age (and the father's proud boast gives us an interesting peep into the life of his household) "could blazon any coat of armes even in the canting termes of the Heraldes, a thing hard to be credited, but that there are many (yet living) witnesses of it." His home life thus in ruins, Gervase returned sadly to his legal studies in the Middle Temple (which he had first entered 3 May, 1628), and there we leave him when the narrative ends. Why, in the fifteen years which remained to him after his return to England in 1660 he never continued the story of his family through the stormy period of the Civil War, we do not know. Perhaps loyalty to the King forced him to disapprove the politic vacillations of the second Earl of Clare and the

franker opposition of Denzil Holles, while loyalty to his kin forbade him to record their transgressions from the path of duty. Unfortunate as the omission is to the student of the period, his family chronicle is none the less an arresting glimpse of a group of lives which were typical of the material that made up the society of Tudor and Stuart England.

APPENDIX


Thomas Holles of Stoke. temp. Hen. VI–Hen. VII
Thomas Holles Priest
Sir William Holles (c. 1471–1542)
= Eliz. Scopham
Edward Holles
Sir Thos. Holles = Catherine Payne
Sir William Holles (1509–91) = Anne Denzil (1)
Francis Holles = Catherine Heneage o.s.p.
Anne = John Whiddon
Joan
William Holles
Edward Holles
Francis Holles
Denzil Holles (c. 1538–90) = Eleanor Sheffield
Gervase Holles (1547–1628) = Frances Frescheville
Christopher o.s.p.
Gertrude = Walter Stanley
John Holles 1st Earl of Clare = Anne Stanhope
Sir George Holles (1577–1626) o.s.p.
Thomas Holles (1580–1642) = Catherine Van Ecke
Denzil
George
Eleanor
Elizabeth
Frescheville Holles (1575–1630) = Elizabeth Kingston (1)
Francis Holles (1577–1656) = Anne Lany
Gervase Holles (1607–75)
William Holles (1620–44) o.s.p.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS AND ELECTIONEERING IN 1685

By R. H. George, A.M., Ph.D., F.R.Hist.S.

Communicated 8 October, 1935

A Parliament was inevitable from the moment James II was proclaimed King of England on 6 February, 1685.[1] Two days later the new sovereign informed Barrillon, the French ambassador, of his intention to convene Lords and Commons in May. With a prudent regard for his relations with Louis XIV, he took care to explain that he embarked upon this course so speedily in order to show the English that he was not afraid, and to render more acceptable his intended proclamation directing the continued collection of revenues from customs and excise. He also indicated that an immediate summons was essential if he were to gain credit for such action. On the following day the King gave formal notice to the Privy Council of his purpose, and a proclamation soon made the fact public. The Lord Keeper was ordered, on 14 February, to prepare the writs and they were duly issued later in the month.[2] The elections which ensued are of special interest. They were the last held prior

[1] Acknowledgment is made to the Social Science Research Council, whose grant assisted the research upon which this article is based. For materials in local archives the writer has had to depend chiefly on printed collections. The year is given in New, the day of the month in Old Style.

[2] Barrillon to Louis XIV, 9/19, 12/22 Feb., 1685, Archives de la Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Correspondence Politique, Angleterre (hereafter cited as C.P.A.), cliv. 135, 157 verso; Public Record Office (hereafter cited as P.R.O.) P.C. 2/71, f. 8; *ibid.*, S.P. 44/335, f. 468; N. Luttrell, *Historical Relation* (Oxford, 1857), i. 344; R. Steele, *Bibliography of Royal Proclamations* (Oxford, 1910), i. no. 3774. Luttrell's comment that the writs were stayed "to search and find out how elections would go" is suggestive.

to the Revolution. They exhibit an unusual effort on the part of the Court to win a sweeping victory. They afford new evidence of political practices then current. They suggest that recent municipal regulations, valuable to the Crown as they were in many instances, did not always guarantee a Tory triumph. Moreover, they produced a Parliament which, in marked contrast to its predecessors, was thoroughly agreeable to the reigning monarch at the time when it assembled.

From the time that a meeting of Parliament was rumoured until the returns were complete, interest in electioneering and elections was universal. It led to lively gossip in coaches and inns, in the city and in the country. The report was rife in London as early as 14 February, that "all were preparing to go down to the country either to elect honest men or to be elected themselves," and residents in the country anticipated the journey to Westminster.[1] A flood of loyal addresses poured in to the Court, some of them containing election promises. Whitehall was thronged, "as much as it was at the Restoration," by men eager to profess their devotion to the King, and former exclusioners "came in as fast as others." James and his councillors were greatly heartened by these events, and threw themselves eagerly into the work of electioneering. As Barrillon reported to Versailles on 2 March, the chief business of King and ministers was the winning of seats in Parliament for those well disposed towards the Crown.[2]

In the midst of the general stir, the Court's determination to procure a pliant Parliament stands out in bold relief. Its action was not haphazard. Instead, a victory for the prerogative was sought through the careful organisation and

[1] *Memoirs of the Verney Family* (London, 1892–9), iv. 343; John Drummond to Queensberry, 14 Feb., 1685, *Buccleugh MSS.*, ii, *Hist. MSS. Comm.* (1903), p. 215; N. Luttrell, *Historical Relation*, i. 328.

[2] J. Ralph, *History of England* (London, 1744–6), i. 847; Plymouth to Sunderland, 18 Feb., 1685, P.R.O., S.P. 31/1, f. 20; Sir C. Wyche to Ormond, 21 Feb., 1685; *Ormonde MSS.*, New Series, viii, *Hist. MSS. Comm.* (1912), p. 327; Barrillon to Louis XIV, 2/12 March, 1685, C.P.A., cli. 238.

capable direction of a widespread campaign. Undoubtedly the King, with his well-known administrative talents and intense partisanship, was in close touch with such developments. On occasion he intervened in person, as in the case of the elections at Lichfield and at Harwich, and he is reported to have polled his servants at Westminster.[1] Nevertheless, the scanty State Papers for the period afford convincing proof that the Earl of Sunderland, Principal Secretary of State, played the rôle of director of the campaign, albeit the form in which his letters were generally cast made them royal as well as secretarial missives. His first action was the despatch of letters on the 13th and 17th of February to no less than twenty-six prominent individuals. Seven were to Lords-Lieutenants whose jurisdictions embraced ten counties. One was directed to the Deputies in Warwickshire, which was Sunderland's own lieutenancy. Another was addressed to the Governor of the Isle of Wight. The remainder were sent to persons of local influence, such as the Lords Stawell and Townshend, Sir Jonathan Trelawney, Sir Lionel Walden, Sir Robert Brooke and Richard Lewis. Sunderland couched these epistles in very general terms. For the moment he was content to request care for the choice of " good members for the Parliament," whose loyalty and affection were " approved," to urge the use of all possible interest to that end, and to enjoin the recipients to be present at the elections.[2] These general injunctions were soon followed by very specific ones, for the Secretary proceeded to name Court candidates

[1] Elias Ashmole to Mr. Martin, 26 March, 1685, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MSS. (hereafter cited as Rawl.), D 864, f. 8 verso; Philip Parker to Albemarle, 14 April, 1685, *Montague of Beaulieu MSS., Hist. MSS. Comm.* (1900), p. 190; N. Luttrell, *Historical Relation*, i. 341.

[2] On this and many other matters relating to the elections, see Sunderland's correspondence, P.R.O., S.P. 31/1, ff. 19–72; *ibid.*, S.P. 44/56, ff. 171–98. Barrillon caused Louis XIV to rejoice when he reported that James was taking every care that Lords attached to his cause use all their credit in the " Provinces " to prevent the election of those whose loyalty was suspect. (Barrillon to Louis XIV, 2/12 March, 1685; C.P.A., cli. 238; Louis XIV to Barrillon, 13/23 March, 1685, *ibid.*, cliv. 260.)

for one or both seats in the counties of Hertford, Nottingham and Buckingham.[1] He was equally concerned with providing candidates for borough constituencies, and exhibited particular care in recommending office-holders. A single letter named William Bridgeman, one of the Clerks of the Privy Council, for Bramber, Samuel Pepys for Harwich, and Sir Richard Haddock, one of the Navy Commissioners, for Shoreham. Solicitor-General Finch was put forward as the official candidate for Newport in the Isle of Wight, Henry Crispe, Common Sergeant of London, for Lancaster, Roger L'Estrange for Winchester, while others were similarly recommended to the Lincolnshire boroughs of Grantham and Great Grimsby. This list is not a long one, yet in view of the paucity of surviving records it is significant.

The recipients of Sunderland's general missives acknowledged his letters in equally general terms.[2] Then, like Sunderland, they proceeded to specific action, and, like the Secretary, named or supported candidates. This was particularly true of the Lords-Lieutenants. The Earl of Plymouth was a Privy Councillor, Lord-Lieutenant of Worcester, and of the City and Corporation of Hull, where he was also Governor. He was well prepared for action, since in 1681 he had noted that Worcestershire returned " ill men " to the Oxford Parliament, and had immediately taken steps to prevent the recurrence of such a catastrophe. Eight of the nine seats for his county were filled by his nominees in 1685, and he obtained a promise from Hull to accept his recommendations. The Duke of Newcastle was Plymouth's associate at the Council Board. He supported successful candidates in Derby county, and was active in

[1] Sunderland to Nottingham, 13 April, 1685, *Finch MSS.*, ii, *Hist. MSS. Comm.* (1922), p. 189.

[2] Thirteen answers to Sunderland's missives have been found. Meetings of the gentry were in many cases held under the presidency of county officials to fix upon shire candidates (e.g. J. Bradshaigh to Roger Kenyon and others, 4 March, 1685, *Kenyon MSS.*, *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. xiv, app. 4 (1894), p. 178).

his lieutenancies of Newcastle-on-Tyne, Northumberland and Nottingham. In Kent the county candidates supported by the Earl of Winchelsea, Lord-Lieutenant there, were victorious, and his influence was felt in the four remaining constituencies of that county. The Earl of Rutland's candidates triumphed in his county town of Leicester, while in Sunderland's own shire, Lord Brooke supported the successful aspirants for the county seats, and for those of Warwick and Coventry.[1]

Others of the Privy Council than those whose action Sunderland directed were likewise conspicuous for their efforts on behalf of the Crown. Albemarle cared for elections in his counties of Essex and Devon, Lindsey did the same in Lincolnshire boroughs, and Fauconbridge in Yorkshire. In Cornwall the Earl of Bath played his notorious rôle as "Prince Elector," and boasted that the towns there freely offered him "the recommendation of both their burgesses."[2] Ailesbury's son claimed that his father named the eight representatives for his lieutenancies of Bedford and Huntingdon, and the father's prestige was doubtless responsible for the extent of the son's influence in Wiltshire. Ailesbury also was concerned with electioneering in Leicester county and borough, and in Derby town. The activities of Dartmouth were evident at Portsmouth and Lichfield, those of Huntingdon in Leicester borough, and those of Clarendon at Christchurch and Oxford county.[3] The leaders of the

[1] Rutland to Mayor of Leicester, 4, 5 March, 1685, *Leicester Corporation MSS., Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. viii, app. 1 (1881), p. 440.

[2] Sir John Bramston, *Autobiography* (Camden Soc., 1845), p. 169; Lindsey to Rutland, 16 March, 1685, *Rutland MSS., Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. xii, app. 5 (1889), p. 87; Thomas Frankland to Sir William Frankland, 19 Feb. 1685, *Frankland-Russell-Astley MSS., Hist. MSS. Comm.* (1900), p. 58; Fauconberg to same, 28 March, 1685, *ibid.*, p. 62; G. Burnet, *History of the Reign of King James II* (Oxford, 1852), p. 17; John Evelyn, *Diary* (Wheatley ed., London, 1906), 22 May, 1685, ii. 465; Bath to Town Clerk of Bodmin, —— 1685, W. P. Courtney, *The Parliamentary Representation of Cornwall to 1832* (London, 1889), p. 235.

[3] Thomas, Earl of Ailesbury, *Memoirs* (1890), i. 100; Ailesbury to Rutland, 14, 22 Feb., 1685, *Rutland MSS., Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. xii, app. 5 (1889), pp. 85, 87; Samuel Pepys, *Life, Journals, etc.* (London,

Bench shared the labours of the campaign. Lord Keeper Guilford was particularly busy in Suffolk, and he also disposed of one of Grampound's seats. Chief Justice Jeffreys was reported to have made his circuit into an election tour, defying attacks of the stone. Finally, it should be remarked that three Privy Councillors—Sir Thomas Chicheley, Sir Leoline Jenkins and Charles, Earl of Middleton—were themselves returned to the House of Commons.[1]

Our list of zealous champions of the royal cause may be further enlarged by the mention of five more Lords-Lieutenants. The Duke of Norfolk urged the choice of proper men upon his deputies in Surrey and Norfolk as early as 10 February. Abingdon was busy in the county and city of Oxford, Shrewsbury in Stafford, Thanet in his northern counties of Westmorland and Cumberland, while traces of Derby's industry are found in Lancashire constituencies. In addition, the interest of the Marquis of Winchester in Yorkshire, Hampshire and Cornwall was notable.[2] Obviously this catalogue only partially represents the activities of the Court's chief partisans in the elections, but it is of a nature to establish clearly the intense and comprehen-

1841), 18 Aug., 1683, i. 337 ; Dartmouth to Mr. Ashmole, 23 March, 1685, Rawl. A 289, f. 123 ; Huntingdon to Mayor of Leicester, 4, 5 March, 1685, *Leicester MSS., Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. viii, app. 1 (1881), p. 440 ; Clarendon to Mr. Goldwyer, 16 March, 1685, *Clarendon Correspondence* (Singer ed., London, 1828), i. 181 ; same to Abingdon, 10, 26 Feb., 1685, *Correspondence of Clarendon and Abingdon*, Oxford Hist. Soc., *Collectanea*, iii. (1896), 254, 255.

[1] R. North, *Lives of the Norths* (London, 1826), ii. 114 ; *Memoirs of the Verney Family*, iv. 335 ; *Return of Members of Parliament*, Part i (1878). Sir Dudley North sat for Banbury, where " on account of Lord Guilford's trust, he had a sure interest " (R. North, *Lives of the Norths*, iii. 160).

[2] Francis Negus to Edward Lestrange, 10 Feb., 1685, *Lestrange MSS., Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. xi, app. 7 (1888), p. 105 ; A. Wood, *Life and Times* (Oxford, 1891–1900), iii. 135 ; Thanet to Sir Daniel Fleming, 24 Feb., 1685, *Le Fleming MSS., Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. xii, app. 7 (1890), p. 197 ; Sir Christopher Philipson to same, 14 Feb., 1685 ; *ibid.*, p. 196 ; Roger Kenyon to various, 4, 5 March, 1685, *Kenyon MSS., Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. xiv, app. 4 (1894), p. 178 ; R. Leigh to Derby, 31 March, 1685, *ibid.*, 179 ; Derby to Deputy Lieutenants, 2 April, 1685, *Le Fleming MSS., Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. xii, app. 7 (1890), p. 197.

sive character of the general campaign which Sunderland directed.

With the Whig leaders scattered or discredited, and their party broken, we would not expect to find an organisation of effort on their side comparable to that developed by the Court. The rumour was recorded that they sent anonymous letters to most of the corporations informing them that Charles II died a Papist, and warning them to stand to their guard. Such admonition against the choice of "beggars . . . Papists or Pensioners" as Parliament men appears to have been the limit of their systematic endeavour, although the Bishop of Oxford declared that "the old party rallies up its forces everywhere, and will make a struggle for a considerable interest in the house." [1] Evidence has survived, however, of their local activities. The conclusion of the week-long election in Cheshire was hailed as marking the "Death of Whiggism in Those Parts," but before their demise the factious gave ample evidence of their vitality. Sir G. Shakerley lost both hat and wig in a scuffle with the rabble, windows were broken, and several of the rioters were committed by the Mayor, while the authorities raised the militia and kept them on foot, though discreetly hidden, for the space of two days. In Warwickshire "disturbers" were at work and their appeal for support curious. "Under the pretence of great loyalty" former exclusioners there sought seats in this Parliament that they might have opportunity to "signify their repentance." They were, however, overcome by the resolution of the High Sheriff and supporting gentry. In Nottingham, reputed the "most factious county in England," a poll was only avoided by the pressure which Lord Kingston exerted on his freeholders.[2]

Similar threats and demonstrations by the opposition

[1] A. Wood, *Life and Times*, iii. 134; Bishop of Oxford to Christopher Hatton, 21 March, 1685, Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 29582, f. 241. What appears to be a copy of the Whigs' anonymous warning is found in Bodleian Library, Tanner MSS. 32, f. 232.

[2] R. L'Estrange, *The Observator*, 4 April, 1685, iii. no. 25.

are to be noted in various boroughs. The French ambassador reported disorders at Cirencester in a lively struggle there between the " parti des patriotes " and the " parti de la cour." As early as 17 February, " factious spirits " in Chichester " set up for election their old seditious members when a Parliament [should] be called." Ten days later Bridgwater's Mayor reported that " a base contriveing fanatick . . . ran up and down to the Great Fanaticks at their houses " as soon as intimations of a Parliament were received, and that at Taunton the " damnable crew " would set up men whose party was enough " to decypher them what they were." From Huntingdon a Court partisan decried the activities of men " of the old stamp," while in the Westminster election, where numbers " were great on all sides," the cry of " No Peter pence men " answered that of " no black box, no Excluder." [1] In Bedfordshire the Duke of Bedford sought the election of his second son, Edward Russell, but although Russell's Whigs were victorious on the show of hands, they were beaten at the poll. Possibly such result was in part due to the dramatic argument of the court party, who paraded on election day bearing platters laden with headless cocks. Their purpose was to block Edward Russell's election by directing attention to his brother's execution for treason in 1683.[2] Such evidence merely indicates the existence of local opposition. As we shall later see, definite proofs of the Opposition's power are chiefly discovered in the Essex and Buckingham county elections, and in that for Buckingham borough.

In addition to furnishing evidence of the activity of " patriots " and " court," several accounts of elections that have come down to us serve to exhibit that variety of

[1] Barrillon to Louis XIV, 12/22 March, 1685, C.P.A., cliv. 271 ; Thomas Frankland to Sir William Frankland, 17 March, 1685, *Frankland-Russell-Astley MSS., Hist. MSS. Comm.* (1900), p. 61.

[2] T. B. Macaulay, *History of England* (Firth ed., London, 1913–15), i, 473 ; Thomas, Earl of Ailesbury, *Memoirs*, i. 100 ; Barrillon to Louis XIV, 23 March/12 April, 1685, C.P.A., cliv, 326.

political practices which was in vogue during the Restoration period, and supplement, in some respects, similar evidence furnished by the three preceding elections.[1] It occasions no surprise to find an old practice surviving at Dunwich and at Bishop's Castle, where the burgesses, after the election, undertook to serve without pay. It was probably no coincidence that the donor of a mayor's sword to Bury St. Edmunds won a seat for that borough. The times being what they were it was commonplace that entertainment of voters should often be on a lavish scale, and the candidates' expenses correspondingly heavy.[2]

Far more significant than such items are others which imply manipulation of the electorate, or reflect that strenuous endeavour of the Crown to restrict the franchise which was a notable feature of Charles II's closing years. At Bridgwater it was believed that the "fanaticks" would put up members by the populace in opposition to those who were "resolved to elect . . . by our Capitall Burgesses, as ever usually was done until those little Undoeing junctoes of Parliaments were sitting." At Scarborough the candidate who attempted to poll the freemen was arrested for riot by a mayor functioning as the zealous protagonist of the Corporation's exclusive rights. The Earl of Lindsey suggested to the Earl of Rutland that it was possible to make additions to the freemen at Grantham, where the latter was Recorder, to the end that the Crown might profit by the "exclusion of the excluder." New freemen were actually made at Chippenham in such numbers and at such times as clearly to indicate the partisan determination of the court. At Honiton the ranks of freemen were swollen

[1] For accounts of previous elections in the Restoration period, see E. Lipson, "The Elections to the Exclusion Parliaments," *English Historical Review*, xviii. (1913), 59; and M. D. George, "Elections and Electioneering, 1679–1681," *ibid.*, xlv. (1930), 552.

[2] *Dunwich MSS., Hist. MSS. Comm., Various Colls.*, vii. (1914), p. 104; *Bishop's Castle MSS., Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. x, app. 4 (1885), p. 405; *Bury St. Edmunds Records, Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. xiv, app. 8 (1895), p. 150.

by the addition of country gentlemen and the franchise denied to strangers claiming it, while at Lancaster " two-penny freemen " were made wholesale to block the election of Lord Brandon, the court's adversary. The heads of the commission which at the moment governed Berwick went even further. These royal nominees not only made new burgesses out of hand, but also sought to disqualify " four score others " by means of excommunication.[1]

From Sandwich and St. Albans we derive evidence of the effect of the remodelling of corporations which was actively under way in 1685. Samuel Pepys and the Governor of Dover were elected for the Cinque Port by all whom the magistrates " thought fit to own as freemen under the new charter." But old freemen, in much greater number than the new, proceeded to a separate election ; some claiming to be electors under " old Freedoms," and others claiming freedom under the new charter, although denied it by the magistrates.[2] The case of St. Albans is even more striking. Early in 1685 the town had surrendered its charter, and had not received a new one at the time when electioneering began. Nevertheless, John Selioak, the mayor who had negotiated the surrender, at once declared that Lord Churchill would stand, and proceeded to campaign vigorously in his behalf. Sir Samuel Grimston and Sir Thomas Pope Blount, who possessed many friends among the inhabitants, appeared in opposition. The Mayor was soon in a frenzy. He threatened innkeepers and alehousekeepers who showed signs of favour to the knights with the loss of

[1] Lindsey to Rutland, 16 March, 1685, *Rutland MSS.* ii, *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. xii, app. 5 (1889), p. 87 ; *Commons Journals*, ix. 719 ; xxii. 693 ; F. H. Goldney, *Records of Chippenham* (London, 1889), p. 71 ; H. Hartopp, *Register of the Freemen of Leicester* (Leicester, 1927), under dates 1, 3, 4, 11 March, 1684/5 ; *Victoria County History, Lancaster*, viii. 18 ; John Scott, *Berwick upon Tweed* (London, 1888), p. 219.

[2] Samuel Pepys to Albemarle, 9 April, 1685, *Buccleugh and Queensberry MSS.* i, *Hist. MSS. Comm.* (1899), p. 341. Albemarle suggested the regulation of the corporation at Dartmouth, only to be informed that while the charter allowed the King to displace officers he could not nominate their successors. (Sunderland to Albemarle, 6 April, 1685, P.R.O., S.P. 44/56, f. 193.)

their licences, and with having Churchill's dragoons of the King's Own Royal Regiment quartered upon them at the ruinous rate of 8*d*. per day for man and horse. Other inhabitants who opposed the Mayor were threatened with prosecution as rioters. On 19 March the new charter was brought down by Lord Churchill, and received with acclamations and bonfires by his partisans who dared their opponents to cry " a Grimston or a Blunt," and then gaoled those who had the temerity to reply. Such penalty was within the power of Churchill's faction to impose, since the new charter gave them complete control of the situation. By it Churchill himself was named Recorder, and Selioak Mayor. Nineteen aldermen were likewise named, of whom eleven were not only new, but non-residents. Furthermore, the Mayor, Recorder and Senior Alderman were constituted Justices of the Peace within the borough, while the Mayor and any nine aldermen were empowered to elect assistants and to admit freemen. The last-mentioned functions were speedily exercised by the new magistrates in the interest of party. On 20 March some few townsmen who were for Churchill were admitted to freedom, and assistants were chosen. Ten days later, on the very eve of election, a number of non-residents were made free under their promise not to demand freedom from tolls, but townsmen who applied were informed that in good time they might be made free provided they behaved themselves. Even then the Mayor left nothing to chance, for the next morning, before the townsfolk were stirring, he tried to rush through the election, not of Lord Churchill, but of his Lordship's nominees—Captain George Churchill and Mr. Docwra, both strangers to the town. In this attempt Selioak was blocked by one of those whom his partisans had admitted to freedom and elected as Assistant. His demand for a poll could not be refused, as that of other townsmen had been, on the ground that he was not free of the borough. Accordingly the new freemen were told over, and their votes for " Lord Churchill and Docwra," duly shortened to " Churchill and

Docwra," were rated sufficient to return the Recorder's men. The new charter had done its work.[1]

The records of Reading disclose the use made there of the trick of refusing a poll at the demand of non-freemen. The town had shown its loyalty to James II by proclaiming him to the sound of bells, drums and trumpets on 9 February, and by sending him an address ten days later. On the latter date the Mayor and Corporation voted to request Alderman Breedon of Pangborne to stand for Parliament. He accepted and was unanimously admitted as a freeman. On 12 March, the Sheriff delivered the precept to the Mayor, who set the election for the following day. The Corporation then turned their attention to the request of Sir Henry Fane and Sir William Rich to be admitted to freedom, and promptly negatived it. The significance of their action was indicated the following day when the petitioners stood for election, and demanded a poll. In answer " Mr. Maior and the Aldermen put the Question to the Vote which was carried in the Negative for that they were not freemen of this Borough and thereupon the maior declared John Breedon and Thomas Coates elected." An appeal was made by the defeated parties to the House of Commons which declared the election void for want of a poll, but in the ensuing election Breedon and Coates were again returned.[2] Sir John Reresby sought to destroy his rivals at York by causing them to be denied the freedom of that city. For a time he enjoyed the support of the Mayor, and Mr. Moysen and Colonel Jenkins were driven to seek a writ of mandamus to secure it. But the assize judges advised the Mayor to allow the grant, and at a meeting of the Corporation six days prior to the election

[1] *Verulam MSS., Hist. MSS. Comm.* (1906), pp. 98–9; Warrant 6 March, 1685, P.R.O., S.P. 44/335, f. 524; *Commons Journals*, ix. 722; N. Luttrell, *Historical Relation*, i. 341.

[2] *Memoirs of the Verney Family*, iv. 320; Reading Corporation Archives, Corporation Diary no. 15, under dates 9, 20 Feb., 9, 12, 13 March, 26, 27 June, 1685, and also the brief calendar of the same in *Reading Corporation MSS., Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. xi, app. 7 (1888), p. 199; *Commons Journals*, ix. 716, 745.

" it was carried by a single vote that they should be made free." [1]

The accounts available of some other elections afford additional evidence of current political practices, and also indicate that on occasion the Crown and its agents encountered obstacles in executing their widespread plans. On 17 February Sunderland asked Sir Robert Holmes, Governor of the Isle of Wight, for an account of places of which he could be sure, and enjoined the Governor not to engage himself for any such until informed of the King's pleasure in the matter. Later letters from the Secretary contained the definite recommendation of Solicitor-General Finch for one of the seats. However, since the Solicitor refused to assume the charges of his election, Sir Robert expressed the hope that he might be provided for elsewhere, and in that event promised to name another " who will give his vote as heartily for the King . . . though it may be his tongue is not so well hung." In his replies Sunderland repeated the order for Finch's election, and promised to reimburse the Governor for moneys expended to that end. Nevertheless, we ultimately find the Secretary voicing the King's surprise that Finch was not chosen burgess for the Isle of Wight. His resentment was doubtless tempered by the fact that the Solicitor triumphed in the " disputable " election at Guildford, and by the return of at least three of the King's Friends for the island boroughs of Newport, Yarmouth and Newtown.[2]

At Clitheroe in Lancashire there was friction between the King's agents. The Duke of Albemarle not merely supported the candidature of Edward Ashton, but also that of Sir Thomas Stringer, and claimed that he acted at the King's direction. However, the Earl of Derby, Lord-Lieutenant for the shire, challenged Albemarle's right to

[1] Sir John Reresby, *Memoirs* (London, 1875), 10 March, 1685, pp. 318–20.

[2] Sir Robert himself sat for Newport, William Hewer for Yarmouth, and William Blathwayt for Newtown. The last named was a royal nominee. *Return of Members of Parliament*, Part i.

nominate both burgesses, and his influence was sufficient to procure the return of his own brother as Ashton's colleague.[1] At Berwick, where the King had directed a union of interests on the part of Captain Bickerstaff and one Mr. Wallis, the royal orders were not fully executed. Wallis, who was charged by a rival with abetting the disaffected in the borough, refused to join with the Captain, and Colonel Widdrington was chosen in preference to him. It was fortunate that the Colonel's politics were apparently of a nature which would recommend him to the Court.[2]

There was even greater confusion at Lichfield.[3] As early as 14 March, four candidates were in the field, all of whom were closely related to the Court. Elias Ashmole was both placeman and pensioner, and might feel that royal approval of his candidature was implied. Sir Francis Lawley could properly cherish a like feeling since he had corresponded with the Secretary concerning his campaign activities in Stafford and Salop. Captain Thomas Orme was of cavalier descent, and a member of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners; while Richard Leveson held office in the King's Bedchamber. Ashmole had entered the lists in early March on invitation from the Dean of the Cathedral, and from the bailiffs and others of the Corporation. Lawley claimed an invitation from the magistrates. Orme was supported by "letters from London," and Leveson relied on the endorsement of a formidable quartette—the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord-Lieutenant of the county; Lord Dartmouth, the City's Recorder; Lord Weymouth, whose family had long

[1] E. Ashton to Sir Roger Peel, 24 Feb., 1685, *Kenyon MSS.*, *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. xiv, app. 4 (1894), p. 177; Albemarle to Roger Kenyon, March, 1685, *ibid.*, p. 179; Roger Kenyon to Albemarle, 10 March, 1685, *ibid.*, p. 178; *Return of Members of Parliament*, Part i.

[2] Col. Widdrington to Dartmouth, 1 April, 1685, *Dartmouth MSS.*, *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. xi, app. 5 (1887), p. 124.

[3] On the Lichfield election, see *D.N.B.*, art. "Elias Ashmole"; J. C. Wedgwood, *Staffordshire Parliamentary History* (William Salt Soc. Publications, 1917–22), p. 160; and especially the correspondence of Sunderland, P.R.O., S.P. 31/1, ff. 67–80; and that of Elias Ashmole, Rawl. A 289, B 121, and D 864.

been associated with Lichfield; and Lord Ferrers. As the campaign progressed Ashmole did not appear in person, nor was his cause supported from London, but devoted agents "treated the city companies" in his behalf, "asked votes from house to house," and kept careful account of their expenditures for ale and of the results of their canvass. Lawley, pressed by business elsewhere, appeared infrequently, but entertained at The George and The Ale House. Orme was in Lichfield almost continually, and, in spite of arrears of debt, spent lavishly, although Ashmole's agents were confident that their 35*s.* went further than his £5. Leveson appeared rather late, but immediately began to treat on a large scale, spending "40*s.* a house in Ale besides his expenses for the better sort of people at the Taverns and feasting of them." Since "the rabble" possessed votes in Lichfield, treating was supplemented by public meetings whose temper may be judged by the frequent taunting of Ashmole as a "pitiful exciseman" and worse.

Efforts to manage the election were as much in evidence as any appeal to the voters, and ultimately determined the issue at Lichfield. Ashmole's agents early sought to join his interests with Lawley's, and later Leveson attempted to procure a union of Ashmole's forces with his own. Neither action was successful, and no results were forthcoming from the effort to persuade Orme to desist, or from Orme's personal endeavour to secure Ashmole's withdrawal. However, where Orme failed, Leveson succeeded, thanks to his powerful backing. On 23 March, Lord Dartmouth wrote to Ashmole urging him to promote Leveson's candidature as an acceptable service to the King, and in an interview the next day declared that if Ashmole "would sit down the King would take it very kindly." Even after a second interview with Dartmouth, the Exciseman sought confirmation of these statements from higher authority, only to learn from royal lips that His Majesty "had given encouragement to Mr. Leveson" and would look upon

Ashmole's declining the election "as a particular service done to him." There could be but one result. Ashmole announced his withdrawal, sought to transfer his interest to Leveson, found what comfort he could in the King's assurance of friendship, and consoled his Lichfield managers with the gift of £10 "to be spent in a collation." Coincident with this success Leveson further improved his position by obtaining orders from the Court directing Orme to desist. However, he did not make use of them, choosing rather to join interests with this particular adversary.

In consequence Sir Francis Lawley was confronted with a coalition when he returned to Lichfield on 4 April. Naturally he was alarmed, but in the five days remaining before the election he exhibited his resourcefulness as a politician. From Sunderland he might reasonably expect favour. He therefore rushed a letter to the Secretary craving an order for Orme's withdrawal. Not content with this appeal, he had recourse to stratagems which might reduce his opponent's poll. He first treated the Lichfield companies in an effort to persuade them "to declare only single voice for him," and then astutely revived and sustained Ashmole's candidature, on the theory that a vote for Ashmole was a vote lost to Leveson or Orme. Ashmole's eleventh-hour withdrawal had left his party in what one of them described as a "Condarey." Three days before the election they were further confused by the sudden resumption of treating on his behalf. The result was that when the poll opened on the morning of 9 April, Ashmole's voters were so much in evidence that the magistrates were twice forced to adjourn the court. Not until polling was resumed in the afternoon had they been persuaded to vote for Leveson. Even then it was alleged that Orme and Leveson were only assured of their narrow victory over Sir Francis by the partisanship of the magistrates in conducting the poll, and by the sheriff's refusal to prorogue the court until next morning when Lawley "would have had such a supply of votes as would have prevailed against Leveson's." Sir Francis made his

exit from this battle royal between King's Friends threatening an appeal to the House.[1]

At Winchester also there was confusion, due, in this case, to the passive opposition of a lord-lieutenant to royal commands.[2] On 3 March, Sunderland wrote to Mr. Justice Levinz, then on circuit, directing him to deny the report that the King approved the candidature of Sir John Clobery and Mr. Morley at Winchester, and to urge the election of Roger L'Estrange and Mr. Hanses upon the magistrates. The Justice carried out his orders and endeavoured to persuade Sir John to desist. With the magistrates he had greater success, although they argued that the orders came late and after they had fixed on Clobery and Morley. These two had enjoyed the support of the Earl of Gainsborough, Lord-Lieutenant for Hampshire, who had engaged votes for them, and their standing produced divisions in the city which were all too apparent to Levinz and to Bernard Howard, the Court's local manager. As was to be expected, however, the Court was insistent upon obedience to orders. Despite the fact that L'Estrange had been attacked as an "Old Whimsy-Pated Papist" who would re-endow the Abbey with estates which the city held, Sunderland recommended him, with Hanses, to the care of Gainsborough.[3] No action on the Earl's part or that of his son, Lord Camden, was forthcoming, and the Lieutenant's failure to announce that he had changed his interest allowed the candidature of Sir John and Mr. Morley to continue with unabated strength. Such a course was doubly dangerous since the King's enthusiastic partisans in the city threatened to withhold their votes from Camden, who was standing as knight of the shire. A second letter from Sunderland to Gainsborough produced

[1] Lawley's appeal to Sunderland failed, the King thinking it "too late to interpose" (Sunderland to Sir Francis Lawley, 6 April, 1685, P.R.O., S.P. 44/56, f. 193). Lawley petitioned the House of Commons, but no action was taken (*Commons Journals*, ix. 717).

[2] On the Winchester election, see the correspondence of Sunderland, P.R.O., S.P. 31/1, ff. 58–66, and *ibid.*, S.P. 44/56, ff. 179–86.

[3] R. L'Estrange, *The Observator*, 12 March, 1685, iii, no. 16.

no more effect than the first, and complaints were loud on the part of Mr. Howard. Bishop Ken then intervened and, by representing the King's desires to Mr. Morley, obtained his promise to sit down.[1] Still Gainsborough refused either to write or to vote in behalf of the royal nominees. He was obviously piqued "that such a Pudder had been made," and his candidates disavowed by higher authority. The campaign continued, and efforts were made to determine the votes of tradesmen by promises to give patronage, or threats to withhold it. However, on election eve, Clobery and Morley met with their partisan the Mayor, and "finding their number inconsiderable," gave over the contest. L'Estrange and Hanses were, therefore, returned unopposed on 16 March, although neither Gainsborough nor Camden appeared at the election in their behalf. Their excuse may have been that the county election fell upon the same day, but the fact remains that an official upon whose assistance the King had reason to rely had refused to give heed to repeated commands.[2] Naturally the charge of Whiggism was laid at Gainsborough's door.

Sir John Bramston has left a lively account of the elections for Essex county and for Maldon, both of which were contested by the factious.[3] While busy proclaiming James in the county the Lords-Lieutenants, Albemarle and Oxford, told Bramston that he must stand for one of the knights. He demurred on the ground of expense, and Rochester's denial of either pension or office confirmed him in his refusal. However, the express desire of the King rendered it impossible for Sir John to escape candidature at Maldon, where he was sure of the magistrates' support, and

[1] Thomas Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells, to Dartmouth, 15 March, 1685, *Dartmouth MSS., Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. xi, app. 5 (1887), p. 123.

[2] The Mayor had refused to honour tradition and advance the date of the city election to avoid coincidence with the election for the shire.

[3] Bramston's account of the Malden and Essex County elections appears in his *Autobiography*, pp. 169–78. See also Oxford to Albemarle, n.d., *Buccleugh and Queensberry MSS.* i, *Hist. MSS. Comm.* (1899), p. 344; and Ezekiel Everest to [Sunderland], 26 March, 1685, P.R.O., S.P. 31/1, f. 73.

expected to be returned unopposed. But his hopes for an economical campaign were dashed when Albemarle saddled him with Sir Thomas Darcie as a colleague, and when Sir William and Samuel Wiseman appeared in opposition. The latter pair were backed by the veteran Whig, Henry Mildmay. On election day all the candidates were present with Albemarle and Mildmay in support. As the Town Clerk finished calling over the freemen, both resident and non-resident, it was apparent that while Bramston led his rivals, Darcie was outdistanced by the Wisemans. Sir John was equal to this emergency, and persuaded the bailiffs to adjourn for half an hour before casting up the poll. In that short interval those of his partisans who had contented themselves with giving single votes for Bramston were flattered by being told that the issue of the day rested with them, and after being "caressed" by the Duke, they trooped back to cast their remaining vote for Darcie. What Mildmay described as "pure management" gave the Court a clean sweep.

In preparation for the county election, Albemarle and "the Colchester gentlemen" had named Sir William Maynard and Sir Thomas Fanshaw, while Mildmay himself appeared in opposition, accompanied by Mr. Luther. After "great heats," the rivals met for the election at Chelmsford on 14 April. The Court cavalcade possibly contained the thirty-five small freeholders of Harwich whom a placeman there offered to send to vote against the Whig leader if their expenses were paid. In any case, it was a goodly array which Albemarle and Bramston, with the Lords Maynard and Petre, led into the town. They looked with contempt upon their rivals' scattering of gentlemen and "great rabble on foot," and carefully took the wall from them as they passed in the streets. Albemarle and his cohorts rode straight to the field, only to discover that Mildmay was in possession of the Bench at the Sessions House. From this vantage point he was speedily dislodged by the obliging Sheriff, who first adjourned the Court to the field, and then

adjourned it back to the House where the Court's partisans proceeded to occupy the Bench. Mildmay demanded a poll which all, including townsmen bent on profit from the sale of provender, expected to be a matter of days. In the event it proved to be only a matter of hours, for on Bramston's return from a hasty lunch he discovered that there were no more to be polled for Mildmay and Luther. Accordingly, the Sheriff was properly coached in the formalities of making a proclamation, and summoned all who wished to vote for the opposition to come in. None came, and the Sheriff, after a cursory glance at the Clerks' books, and without casting up the poll, declared the Court's candidates elected.

In 1685, as on previous occasions, Buckinghamshire proved a stronghold of the Opposition, and certain of the elections there were particularly notable. The notorious Richard Hampden won a seat at Wendover, although his partisan, Sir Thomas Lee, failed to carry the day at Aylesbury.[1] Moreover, in spite of the exercise of official pressure, the Whigs gained one seat for the county and both in Buckingham borough. In the shire the Court placed the stamp of its approval upon Lord Brackley, whose father, Lord Bridgewater, was Lord-Lieutenant, and upon Mr. Thomas Hacket, one of Jeffreys' protégés.[2] Lord Brackley

[1] No return for Wendover is listed in the *Return of Members of Parliament* for 1685, and none is found at the P.R.O. Richard Hampden, however, declared that he was "chosen and return'd at Wendover" (Richard Hampden to Lord Lovelace, 20 March, 1685, Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 31141, f. 1). His name also appears on contemporary manuscript and printed lists, and that given in the *Parliamentary History*. Barrillon records the fact of his election, as does Bramston, without naming the constituency which he represented (Bodleian Library, Willis MSS. 9, f. 119; P.R.O., S.P. 31/1, f. 97; *Parliamentary History* (1808), iv. 1348; Barrillon to Louis XIV, 23 March/2 April, 1685, C.P.A., cliv. 326 verso; Sir John Bramston, *Autobiography*, p. 217). Sir Thomas Lee claimed to have been defrauded of the election at Aylesbury, and petitioned the House accordingly (Thomas Frankland to Sir William Frankland, 17 March, 1685, *Frankland-Russell-Astley MSS., Hist. MSS. Comm.* (1900), p. 61; *Commons Journals*, ix. 725).

[2] On the election for Bucks, see *Memoirs of the Verney Family*, iv. 334–9; Latimer Correspondence, Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 28053, f. 316, and *ibid.*, 28087, ff. 27, 35; Sunderland to Nottingham, 3 April, 1685, *Finch MSS.* ii., *Hist. MSS. Comm.* (1922), p. 189.

was unopposed, but Thomas Wharton, eldest son of the Whig magnate, campaigned against Hacket for the remaining seat. Hampden had originally planned to stand as knight of the shire, but tactfully withdrew from the contest after his victory at Wendover, and thereafter laboured in Wharton's interest. The redoubtable Jeffreys marshalled the forces of the Court, although suffering from "a great cold and swelling" acquired on his circuit. His own description of the situation in early April indicated that he needed to display all available energy:

> . . . this day I have had severall gentlemen of the country hereabouts with me who are resolute in the affair to oppose Wharton & Hamden; but they have been very industrious to spread false reports, its certaine Hamden will assigne his interest to Sir Roger Hill who now setts up a horrid Whigg his father one of the murthered King Ch the first judges, & this sparke a fierce exclusioner. Sr. Tho. Lee does us a great deale of mischief by joining with our adversaries and threatening us with the Parliament. I know my Lord Treasurer has a power over him & if his Lordship would be pleased to influence twixt this & the election & would doe us a kindness he and Hamden have been Laboring togeather and he much (?) values himself as Mr. Wharton does for haveing kissed his majesties hand & thereby our mischiefe comes. A word from your Lordship to Mr. Waller to engage his son who is at present fierce against us, togeather with all his interest would be of service to us . . .

At the same time that the Chief Justice wrote this letter to Sunderland he sought the support of Richard Winwood for his candidates, and endeavoured to turn the tenants of James Herbert, Danby's son-in-law, from support of Wharton.[1] Circumstances, however, allowed Jeffreys less than a week for personal direction of the shire campaign. On 8 April the factions mustered at Aylesbury, and the

[1] Jeffreys to Sunderland, 5 April, 1685, P.R.O., S.P. 31/1, f. 82; same to Richard Winwood, 5 April, 1685, *Buccleugh and Queensberry MSS.* i, *Hist. MSS. Comm.* (1899), p. 341; Sunderland to Mr. Waller, 6 April, 1685, P.R.O., S.P. 44/50, f. 192; Danby to Latimer, 9 April, 1685, *Lindsey MSS., Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. ix, app. 9 (1895), p. 446.

polling began. It did not long continue, since Jeffreys over-rode Lord Brackley's objections, and speedily procured an adjournment to Newport, where Hacket possessed local strength. Rumour declared that further adjournments—to Buckingham and even to Beaconsfield—were meditated in the interest of the Court. Wharton and his following were, however, ready to meet this manœuvre, and their willingness to endure even the " want of good Ale " enabled the exclusioner to triumph at Newport. There, when all of Hacket's 1,207 supporters had been polled, Wharton was discovered to have " 1804 with many hundreds yet to poll." He was accordingly returned together with Lord Brackley, upon whom Wharton had urged his supporters to bestow their second votes after his own victory was assured.[1] Sir Ralph Verney related how the Chief Justice stormed, and " in his passion fell upon many of the gentry, but most upon me, tho' I was not there, I was a Trimmer and soe he would tell my Ld. Keeper who was my friend." Jeffreys' opponents rejoiced. Edmund Verney celebrated in a night-long carouse, and we may believe that Whig enthusiasm was fully displayed a few days later when Wharton added to his laurels by winning " the four score pounds plate at the Brackley races."

The contest for Buckingham borough was long, extending over more than ten weeks, and during its protracted course nearly every form of electioneering device was brought into play.[2] Lord Latimer, eldest son of the Earl of Danby, with Sir John Busby, a county magistrate, claimed to represent the Court interest. Busby, however, remained entirely

[1] T. B. Macaulay, *History of England*, i. 473; *Memoirs of the Life of . . . Thomas late Marquess of Wharton* (London, 1715), p. 29. Thomas Hackett petitioned the House of Commons against the seating of Wharton, but his petition was dismissed since he failed to support it (*Commons Journals*, ix. 717, 760).

[2] The election was announced as early as 4 March, but did not take place until 15 May. An unusual amount of evidence is furnished by the *Memoirs of the Verney Family*, iv. 321–57, on the one hand, and by Lord Latimer's Correspondence (Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 28053, ff. 3–68, and *ibid.*, 28087, ff. 316–20), on the other.

aloof, while Latimer's agents acted for him, and for him alone. In opposition to these two candidates were Sir Richard Temple, a former exclusioner, and Sir Ralph Verney who, in spite of age and infirmities, felt impelled to protest against the tactics of the King's partisans. All three active candidates were veteran politicians, and each had sat for Buckingham in one or more of the Exclusion Parliaments. The situation was rendered more interesting because in 1684 the town had surrendered its charter, and received a new one which named thirteen life members of the corporation, and gave the King the right to remove certain officers at will. Since there was abundant precedent for the limitation of the Parliamentary franchise to the corporate body of Buckingham, the Court might well feel secure of its control over the constituency. Curiously, however, the new charter had named none other than Sir Richard Temple as High Steward, and had empowered him to name a Deputy. One of the aldermen was serving in the latter capacity in 1685, and, as will appear, Sir Richard and Sir Ralph were able to secure other partisans among his colleagues.[1]

By the middle of March electioneering was in active progress. Sir Ralph Verney made gifts to the poor, and joined his associate in " reasonable " entertainment of mayor and aldermen, for whom wine proved the most acceptable treat " with Anchois or such like thing to draw down Liquor." Furthermore, in spite of a virtuous refusal " to treat the Mobile at all the Alehouses in the Parish and make them Drunke perhapps a month beforehand," Sir Ralph was not averse to furnishing his son Edmund with the means to continue his drinking bouts with the electors, and with advice to keep " sugar ready and the nutmeg cut but not grated, for I see the Philistines are coming upon you." He also contributed generously to the sum of £110

[1] The warrant for the new charter bears the date 13 June, 1684 (P.R.O., S.P. 44/70, f. 30). According to decisions by the House of Commons, the franchise was vested in the " select number " (*Commons Journals*, viii. 87; x. 467).

necessary to discharge Alderman Henry Hayward's debt to the Duke of Buckingham, and so to free him from the Fleet and make possible his presence at the election. As a barber, Hayward enjoyed the patronage of the Verneys, and it was hoped that this substantial benefaction would secure his vote as elector for the party of Sir Ralph. Sir Richard Temple was almost continuously engaged in cultivating the Buckingham magistrates, " and sometimes his faire Lady." With an eye to the practical he secured possession of the precept, which he held for seventeen days before delivering it to the Mayor on 27 March, and in addition had " severall of the Aldermen tyed to him by judgements not haveing taken the oaths within the time appointed by Law."

In contrast to his opponents, Lord Latimer never appeared within the borough, although he was occasionally present in the shire. He was, however, fully informed of every development, and his agent, William Carter, campaigned tirelessly in his behalf. Latimer not only conformed to the general practice by treating the magistrates and their wives, but also made use of a special device which he had first employed some years before. Probably at the time when he sought the votes of Buckingham magistrates in 1679, he had offered them a " bribing present of timber to rebuild their town hall." The timber, secured by a grant from Charles II, had been felled, but never used, although in 1684 the Corporation had requested that they be allowed to employ it. In the early weeks of electioneering in 1685, Latimer was ready to offer the magistrates money as well as timber " if they performe theire parts " in the disposal of their votes. He even went so far as to provide an agent with a note of hand for £50 and an assignment of the timber, but was careful not to commit himself by the delivery of either money or materials before the election. Such action would have exposed him to double dealing on the part of the Corporation, and might have prejudiced the election " if Adversaries should peticion." Nevertheless, Latimer

was willing to allow the timber to be squared, and to have a carpenter, duly provided with a " model " of the projected building, consult with the Buckingham authorities for their greater encouragement.[1]

As the contest developed Sir Richard was afflicted with insomnia, Sir Ralph sought nightly consolation in " a noble fuddler of coffee," and William Carter's journeyings led him to confess himself " somewhat weary, having beene provided with A horse that may be eminently called A trotter." Such were the by-products of the many uncertainties and complications of the campaign. A tense atmosphere had early been produced by the discovery that the magistrates were very evenly divided in their political allegiance. Carter reported to Latimer that five, and possibly six, of the thirteen electors were " so certainly rivetted that I reckon nothing can stirre them." In his opinion only the Mayor and Alderman Hillesden were uncertain. On the other hand, Edmund Verney was confident that seven were " pretty firme " in their devotion to the Whig candidates, although he feared the Mayor's hostility. Latimer's position was rather more critical than that of his opponents, and led to strenuous action. He took counsel with his father, considered seeking the intervention of the King and of Rochester, and endeavoured to obtain the support of Jeffreys. The latter's assistance was worth having since Sir Ralph Verney declared that the Mayor was " wholly governed by my Lord Chief Justice," and Carter insisted that he was in great esteem with the Mayor and his brethren—" I may say that he hath some awe upon them." [2] To Jeffreys Latimer appealed, and was informed that the Chief Justice had engaged the Mayor and one of the Aldermen for him. Such assurance

[1] *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1679–80, pp. 361–2. Latimer proposed to place £200 or more at the corporation's disposal for building the edifice, which, however, was ultimately erected at the charge of Sir Ralph Verney.

[2] Latimer not merely sought advice from his father, but also the use of his coach. Danby's request for its return is amusing—" I must needs desire my coach to bee returned for the Coronation being so near, and your Mother having so much bussinesse to do in London, she is forc't to use hackney coaches, with great inconvenience to her."

was, however, coupled with the disclosure that in case Mr. Hacket failed of election for the shire, Jeffreys was determined that he should contest one of the seats for Buckingham. To that end the Mayor would put off the election until after that for the county had taken place. If Latimer's distress on receipt of such news was not greatly diminished by Jeffrey's promise to attend the borough election, he may at least have been heartened by the Chief Justice's declaration "that those men S^{r} Richard had ties on should be turned out." Danby, however, discounted this offer of regulation, for which the powers reserved to the Crown under the 1684 charter were sufficient, although at the same time he admitted the value of the weapon.

> Had the Lord I before mentioned been zealous for your service, he would have done for you what has been done already in divers places, viz: have changed some Electors whilst the matter was held in so long suspense as this Election hath been, and that argum^{t} will be no ill one (amongst the rest) to be used by your friends, that they may perhaps find the same usage which some other townes have done in like cases, & particularly att Sudbury, as well as in some other Burrows, where aldermen have been changed for promoting those who are not approved by the King . . .

In the midst of such confusions Latimer bethought himself of taking advantage of the declared intention of the Buckingham freemen to carry through an election by vote of the "populas." Upon their favour Latimer was sure that he could count, yet he hesitated to associate himself with them since he believed that "the King would not approve of that way of election, besides the Mayor will not return mee upon such a Choyce for that would lessen the power of the Aldermen." Danby agreed with this view, but suggested that his son should "take their [the freemen's] election conditionally, if the king should give . . . leave to try their right . . ." A plan under which the Mayor would have returned Latimer even if his opponent had a majority, was likewise considered.

As the election drew near Latimer's resourceful agent initiated yet another stratagem. In early March the Mayor had told the Aldermen of the coming election, and in his speech had remarked that in the new charter the town was styled "the loyal corporation of Buckingham." To the mind of George Dancer, one of the aldermen devoted to Verney and Temple, this statement smacked of abject partisanship, and he had denounced it hotly. Late in April Latimer's agents threatened to make Dancer's words the basis of an action against him which would force his departure from the town. During the period of his absence the five aldermen "rivetted" to Latimer might carry the election with the aid of the Mayor's casting vote. Affidavits were forwarded to Latimer for use against Dancer, the possibility of the Alderman's removal by Order in Council envisaged, and lawyers eagerly consulted by both sides. The lawyers were, in general, unwilling to commit themselves, but Sir Ralph had reason for alarm at Serjeant Leake's dictum that

'twas nothing now to turn out men, many in a day, to disfranchise 'em, and then there's no remedy but by a writ of mandamus, which before that can restore them, the Election will be over and the turn served.

In the end, however, the threats against Dancer resulted only in further confusion and heightened tension as the contest drew to its close.

In view of the lively events of the preceding ten weeks, the election itself was in the nature of an anticlimax. Sir Ralph Verney's description of the Whig victory is graphic and complete.

This morning Sir R. T. & myself were elected at Buck^{m} without any noyse or trouble. Mr. Atterbury was not there, nor did my Lord Latimer come down, so the whole 12 Electors signed the book for Sir R. T. & 7 signed for me, after which the Mayor sent for us upp into the Towne Hall, & declared the Election & sealed the Indenture or Returne with the Towne Seale & then

all the 12 Electors put their hands to it, & delivered it to one to carry to the Sheriffs to-morrow morning. The Populace went to the Towne Hall and civilly demanded the Pole for my L^d^ Latimer & my Cozen Greenfield of Foscut, but the Mayor told them hee could not grant it, soe they went away & poled a little while & then separated without noyse or tumult.[1]

As election followed election in March and April of 1685, it became possible for those at Court to estimate the general results. With the exception of Sunderland, few were in a better position to form an accurate judgment than Barrillon, the intimate of King and ministers. Until the end of March he expressed lively fears lest the " patriots " should prevail in many places, and reported that elections were not going so well as the Court had hoped. After that time he was confident that the factious were effectively excluded, and that the Court might well be content. Rochester had come to the same opinion earlier, and the King shared it at a time when most of the returns were in.[2] Clearly the Court's efforts had kept the opposition out, and brought in its own men to such an extent that James may well have indulged in the remark that " there were not above forty members, but such as he himself wished for." [3] The Court might flatter itself upon such result, but even as he reported it, Barrillon made shrewd observations whose truth was shortly to be demonstrated. " It is the experience of this country," wrote the French ambassador, " that people believed to be the best disposed often change their opinions when assembled [in Parliament]." " It is true that the old opposition is not

[1] Among Latimer's correspondence there is the draft of a petition claiming the seat on the basis of election by the populace, but the petition actually presented to the House of Commons was not actively prosecuted (*Commons Journals*, ix. 716, 760).

[2] Barrillon to Louis XIV, 23 Feb./5 March, 1685, C.P.A., cliv. 236 verso ; same to same, 2/12, 12/22 March, 24 March/3 April, 30 March/9 April, 13/23 April, 1685, *ibid.*, cliv. 238, 271, 335, 345, 412.

[3] *A Collection of State Tracts* (London, 1705–7), iii. 700 ; G. Burnet, *History of the Reign of James II*, p. 18 ; Rochester to William of Orange, 24 March, 1685, P.R.O., S.P. 8/1 ; James II to William of Orange, 13 April, 1685, *ibid.*, S.P. 8/3, f. 94.

elected, but those who compose Parliament will easily become factious. They have an insurmountable hostility to the Catholic religion, and the greater part are hostile to France." [1] The high hopes cherished by the Court of securing a tractable Parliament had apparently been realised. They were, however, eventually to be wrecked upon the very rocks whose existence Barrillon noted at the time of the elections in 1685.

[1] Barrillon to Louis XIV, 30 March/9 April, 13/23 April, 1685, C.P.A., cliv. 345, 412. The Bishop of Oxford also made the cautious note that "the ensuing Parliament . . . will probably be made of men who if not altered by the genius of the place will be very apt to comply, with what is desir'd of them" (Bishop of Oxford to Christopher Hatton, 19 Feb., 1685, Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 29582, f. 215).

INDEX

Abingdon, Earl of. *See* Bertie, James.
Abthorpe (Northants), 79.
Acre, siege of (1191), 33.
Adam of Dryburgh, 30.
Addison, Lancelot, dean of Lichfield, 180.
Agelric, Bishop, 53.
Ailesbury, Earl of. *See* Bruce, Robert.
Akeley (Bucks), 79.
Albemarle, Duke of. *See* Monck, Christopher.
Aldenham (Herts), 53.
Alexander III, Pope, 79.
Alexander Medal. *See* Royal Historical Society.
Alexander of Ashby, 28–9.
Alfred of Sareshel, 23–4.
All Souls' College, Oxford, 90 *n.*
Alnwick, William, 96.
Amsterdam, 156.
Andrew, Richard, 88, 98.
Andrich, I. A., *De Natione Anglica et Scota juristarum universitatis Patavinæ ab anno 1222 ad annum*, 1737, 109.
Anne of Cleves, 150.
Anne, Queen of England (wife of Richard II), 55.
Arabs, the, 16.
Archives. *See* Muniments.
Aristotle, 7, 24–5; *Metaphysics*, 115
Armada, the, 159.
Arundel, Earl of. *See* FitzAlan, Thomas.
Arundel, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, 93.
Ashmole, Elias, 180–2.
Ashton, Edward, 179–80.
Atterbury, Mr., 193.
Audley, Thomas, 132.
Augustinian Canons, 31, 33–4.
Averroes, 16.
Avicenna, 24–6.
Avignon, 65.
Aylesbury (Bucks), 186–7.
Azores, the, 160.

Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, 27.
Balscott, Thomas, 117.
Bardi, Giovanni, 113 *n.*
Barillon, Paul de, 167–8, 169 *n.*, 194–5.
Barlet, Dr., 67.
Basel, 110.
Bath Abbey, 62.
Bath and Wells, bishops of. *See* Bekynton, Thomas; Ken, Thomas; King, Oliver
Bath, Earl of. *See* Granville, John. Marquess of. *See* Thynne, Thomas Henry.
Battersea (London), 53
Battles. *See* Bosworth, Edgehill, Newbury, Radcot Bridge.
Beachampton (Bucks), 79.
Beauchamp, Edward, 113 *n.*
Beaufort, Lady Margaret, 45, 62, 64.
Beccaria, Bonesana Cesare Marchesi di, 132.
Becket, St. Thomas, 13, 91.
Beckington (Somerset), 107–8.
Beckington, Thomas. *See* Bekynton.
Bedford, 79, 171.
Bedford, Duke of. *See* Russell, William.
Bedfordshire, 174.
Beeching, Henry Charles, canon of Westminster, 74.
Bekynton, Thomas, bishop of Bath and Wells, 88, 97–8, 107–8.
Belasyse, Thomas, Lord Fauconbridge, 171
Below, George von 1.
Belvoir Castle (Lincs) 162.
Beneficiorum Collationes et privilegia doctorum, 103.
Bentham, Jeremy, 132.

Bentinck, William John Arthur Charles James Cavendish, Duke of Portland, 147.
Beowulf, 16.
Bergamo (Italy), 104.
Berkshire, 56.
Berlière, Ursmer, *Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique*, 13 *n.*
Bernard of Chartres, 26.
Bertie, James, Earl of Abingdon, 172.
Bertie, Robert, Earl of Lindsey, 171, 175.
Berwick-on-Tweed, 160, 176, 180.
Bickerstaff, Captain, 180.
Birch, Walter de Gray, 54.
Birkenmajer, Alexander, 25 *n.*
Bishop's Castle (Shropshire), 174.
Blackstone, Sir William, 126–7.
Blakesley (Northants), 79.
Blathwayt, William, 178 *n.*
Blond (Blunt), Edward, 114–15.
Blount, Mountjoy, Lord Mountjoy, 160.
Blount, Sir Thomas Pope, 176–7.
Blund, John, 22.
Bodleian Library, 173 *n.*
Bokenhull, John, 65.
Bologna, 105, 108, 112, 113 *n.*, 116; relations between the universities of Padua and, 101–2.
Bombyx, 110.
Boston (Lincs), 160 *n.*
Bosworth, Battle of, 107.
Bourchier, Cardinal, 113–14.
Brackley (Northants), 79.
Brackley, Lord. *See* Egerton, Charles.
Bracton, Henry de, 15.
Bradley, Arthur Granville, dean of Westminster, 49–50.
Bradshaw, John, 65.
Bramber (Sussex), 170.
Bramston, Sir John, 184–5.
Brandon, Lord. *See* Gerard, Charles.
Bray, Sir Reginald, 62.
Breedon, Alderman John, 178.
Bridgeman, William, 170.
Bridgwater, 174–5. Earl of. *See* Egerton, John.
Bristol, 63–4.
British Museum (London), 49–50, 54, 71, 73–5, 90, 111, 147.
Brittany, 96, 107.
Brooke, Lord. *See* Greville, Fulke.
Brooke, Sir Robert, 169.
Brooker, Henry, 48.
Brotto, Giovanni, 103–4, 107.
Brougham, Henry Peter, Lord, 129.
Bruce, Robert, Earl of Ailesbury, 171
Bruce, Thomas, 171
Bruni, Leonardo, 113.
Brunner, Heinrich, 2.
Buckingham, 79, 170, 174, 186, 188–93. Duke of. *See* Villiers George.
Buckinghamshire, 56, 95, 186.
Burgh in the Marsh (Lincs), 159.
Burghley, Lord. *See* Cecil, William.
Burgundy, 96.
Burleigh, Lord. *See* Cecil, William.
Burtt, Joseph, 48–9.
Bury St. Edmunds, 28, 95, 175; Monastery of, 154.
Busby, Dr., 69.
Busby, Sir John, 188.

Cabot, John, 63.
Cambridge, 96, 113–16, 155, 158, 160.
Camden, Viscount. *See* Noel, Wriothesley Baptist.
Candour (Candover), 117.
Canterbury, archbishops of. *See* Arundel, Thomas; Baldwin; Courtenay, William; Langton, Stephen; Secker, Thomas; Walter, Hubert; Wetherset, Richard.
Capel St. Mary (Suffolk) (church), 114.
Carlton (Nottingham), 159, 160 *n.*
Carmina Bacchi, 105.
Carter, William, 190–1.
Casa Bianca della Torre (Padua), 102.
Catherine, Queen of England (wife of Henry V), 55.
Catherine of Aragon, 151.
Cavendish, Henry, Duke of Newcastle, 145 *n.*
Cavendish, Margaret, 145 *n.*
Cavendish, William, Earl of Newcastle, 161.
Caxton, William, 64.
Cecil, William, Lord Burghley, 65, 84.
Chackmore (Bucks), 79.
Chagford (Devon), 150.
Chaldelake (Northants), 79.
Chancellor of England. *See* Rotherham, Thomas.
Charles I, King of England, 146, 160–1, 163.
Charles II, King of England, 64, 173, 175, 190.
Charles VIII, King of France, 110.
Charles the Great, Emperor, 9.
Chaucer, Geoffrey, 18, 64.
Chelmsford, 185.

Chelworth, John, rector of Padua, 105, 109–15, 117.
Chelworth, John, bishop of Lincoln, 109.
Chene (Chequer), Edward, 117.
Cheshire, 91, 173.
Chicheley, Sir Thomas, 172.
Chichester, Sir Arthur, 156.
Chippenham, 176.
Christ Church, Canterbury, 114.
Christchurch (Hants), 172.
Christ's College, Cambridge, 155, 158 *n.*
Churchill, Captain George, 177.
Churchill, John, Lord, 176–7.
Cirencester, 28, 31, 109, 174.
Civil Wars (*temp.* Ch. I), 145–8, 156, 160–1, 163.
Clare, Earls of. *See* Holles, John.
Clarendon, Earl of. *See* Hyde, Henry. Constitutions of, 13
Clement, prior of Lanthony, 27.
Clement, prior of Oseney, 30.
Clement III, Pope, 57.
Clerk, John, 117.
Clifton, Elizabeth, 158.
Clifton family, the, 147 *n.*
Clifton, Sir Gervase, 148, 158.
Clitheroe (Lancs), 179.
Clobery, Sir John, 183–4.
Cluny, Order of, 13.
Coates, Thomas, 178.
Colchester, 146, 185.
Collins, Arthur, *Historical Collections of Noble Families*, 147, 156.
Collis, Richard, 117.
Cologne, 13, 106.
Common Law (England), features in the study of the history of, 119; relation between law of property and, 127; relation between statute law and, 131.
Conrad of Hochstaden, archbishop of Cologne, 13.
Constitutions of Clarendon, the, 13.
Cornwall, 171–2.
Court Rolls, 56.
Courtenay, Peter, archdeacon of Exeter, 96–7, 102, 106–7, 110, 112, 115–17.
Courtenay, Thomas, Earl of Devon, 106.
Courtenay, William, archbishop of Canterbury, 9.
Coventry, 94, 150, 171.
Coverley, Sir Roger de, 152.
Cranmer, Thomas, 65.
Crispe, Henry, 170.
Cromwell, Thomas, 132.
Cumberland, 172. Earl of. *See* George, Clifford.
Curia Vescovile, 103.
Curtis, Professor E., 92 *n.*

Danby, Earl of. *See* Osborne, Thomas.
Dancer, George, 193.
Daniel of Morley, 23–4.
Darcie, Sir Thomas, 185.
Darlington, R. R., 30 *n.*
Darrell, Doctor, 46.
Dartmouth (Devon), 176 *n.*
Dartmouth, Lord. *See* Legge, George.
De Anima, 26.
Dean, Mr., 46.
Denham, Manor of (Bucks), 74.
Denmark, 114.
Denzil (Cornwall), 152.
Denzil, Anne, 152, 154.
Denzil, John, 152.
Deputy Keeper (Public Record Office, London). *See* Lyte, Sir Henry C. Maxwell.
Derby, 170–1.
Derby, Earl of. *See* Stanley, William George Richard.
Derbyshire, 150, 152.
Devereux, Robert, Earl of Essex, 160.
Devon, 171.
Devon, Earl of. *See* Courtenay, Thomas.
Docwra, Mr., 177–8.
Doddesworth, Roger, 145 *n.*
Dodford (Northants), 79.
Doggett, John, 112–14, 116; *Examinatorium in Phædonem Platonis*, 113.
Domesday Book, 57–8.
Dover, 176.
Drummond, Hon. Robert, 73.
Dubois, Pierre, 16.
Dugdale, Sir William, 145.
Duns, Joannes, Scotus, 115.
Dunwich, 175.
Durham, 59, 94. Bishops of. *See* Longley, Thomas; Ruthal, Thomas; Sherwood, John.

Eastbourne, 114.
East Retford (Notts), 154.
Ecke, Catherine van, 156.
Edgar, King of England, 53.
Edgehill, Battle of, 161,

Edward I, King of England, 10, 55, 65, 79, 119.
Edward II, King of England, 54, 61, 82.
Edward III, King of England, 80, 82.
Edward IV, King of England, 64, 82, 84–7, 89, 93, 96, 98–9.
Edward V, King of England, 82, 85.
Edward VI, King of England, 151.
Edward VIII, King of England, 119.
Edward the Confessor, 53–4, 56.
Edwy, King of England, 53.
Egerton, Charles, Lord Brackley, 186.
Egerton, John, Earl of Bridgewater, 186.
Eginhard, 9.
Elizabeth, Queen of England, 52, 64, 68–9, 154.
Ely, bishop of. *See* Grey, William.
Emperors. *See* Charles the Great, Frederick I, Frederick II and Frederick III.
England and medieval history, 2, 10–11, 14; development of the office of king's secretary in (*temp.* 15th c.), 81–100; educational relations between Italy and, 104–17; electioneering in 1685 in, 167–95; learning in (*temp.* 12th c.), 19–35; light thrown upon the social structure of (*temp.* Henry VIII), 121–41; relations between France and, 92–4, 195. *See* also Legislation, Muniments, Parliament.
England, Kings of. *See* Charles I, Charles II, Edgar, Edward the Confessor, Edward I, Edward II, Edward III, Edward IV, Edward V, Edward VI, Edward VIII, Edwy, Henry I, Henry II, Henry III, Henry IV, Henry V, Henry VI, Henry VII, Henry VIII, James I, James II, John; Richard I, Richard II, Richard III, Stephen, William I, William II, William III.
England, Queens of. *See* Anne, Anne of Cleves, Catharine, Catherine of Aragon, Elizabeth, Isabella, Mary.
Enquiry into the time of the first foundation of Westminster Abbey (1743), 46–7.
Eschenbach, Wolfram von, 18.
Essex, 56, 150, 171, 174, 185. Earl of, *see* Devereux, Robert.
Evershaw (Beds), 79.
Evesham, 28. Abbot of, *see* Thomas of Marlborough.
Exclusion Parliaments, 189.
Exeter, 20, 28. Archdeacon of, *see* Courtenay, Peter; bishop of, *see* King, Oliver; bishopric of, 91.
Exeter College, Oxford, 107.

Fabell, Roger, 108.
Fane, Sir Henry, 178.
Fanshaw, Sir Thomas, 185.
Fauconbridge, Lord. *See* Belasyse, Thomas.
Feckenham, John, abbot of Westminster, 72.
Fell, John, bishop of Oxford, 173.
Ferrara, 101, 104, 116.
Ferrers, Earl. *See* Shirley, Robert.
Ficker, Julius, 1.
Fielding, Henry, 129.
Finch, Heneage, 170, 179.
Finch, Heneage, Earl of Winchelsea, 171.
Firth, Sir Charles, 147, 156.
FitzAlan, Thomas, Earl of Arundel, 93.
Fitz-Hubert family, the, 147 *n.*
Flanders, 156.
Fleet, the (prison), 131, 190.
Flemmyng, Robert, 117.
Flitcham (Norfolk), 24.
Florence, 104.
Flowerdew, Sir Edward, 151.
Foliot, Gilbert, 33–4.
Foliot, Robert, 32 *n.*
Fournier, M., *Les statuts et privilèges des universités françaises*, 15 *n.*
France, Kings of. *See* Hugh Capel, Louis XIV, Philip Augustus, Philip the Fair, Saint Louis.
France and medieval history, 2, 6–7, 9, 12–15, and Roman law, 15; learning in (*temp.* 15th c.), 23; relations between England and, 92–4, 195.
Frederick I, Emperor, 14.
Frederick II, Emperor, 7, 14.
Frederick III, Emperor, 110.
Free, John, bishop of Bath and Wells, 104–5, 115–16.
Freeman, Dr., 67.
French, John, 94.
Frescheville, Elizabeth, 158.
Frescheville, Frances, wife of Gervase Holles, 158–9.
Frescheville, John, Lord, 147, 148 *n.*
Frescheville, Peter, 158–9.

Friars, the, 22.
Friesland, Earl, 2.
Frobenius, J., 110.
Fynde, James, 113.

Gainsborough, Earl of. *See* Noel, Edward.
Galbraith, V. H., 17, ; *The Literacy of the medieval English kings*, 4 *n.*
Gascogne, Richard, 145 *n.*
Geoffrey de Lucy, Dean of St. Paul's, 27 *n.*
Geoffrey de Mandeville, 55.
Geoffrey of Vinsauf, 27.
George, Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, 153.
Gerald of Wales, 21, 23, 26–7.
Gerard, Charles, Lord Brandon, 176.
Gerard of Cremona, 24.
Germany and medieval history, 1–2, 13–14.
Gervase of Melkley, 27.
Giovanni di Cosimo de Medici, 104.
Gloucester, Duke of. *See* Humphrey, Thomas.
Gloucestershire, 56.
Godfrey de Lucy, bishop of Winchester, 27 *n.*, 33.
Grabmann, Martin, 30.
Grampound (Cornwall), 172.
Gravenhagh (Holland), 146.
Grantham, 170, 175.
Granville, John, Earl of Bath, 171.
Gray, Howard Levi, 120.
Gray's Inn, London, 155.
Great Grimsby, 170.
Gregory I, Pope, 32.
Gregory VII, Pope, 6.
Gregory VIII, Pope, 79.
Green, Mr., 67.
Greenfield, Mr., 193.
Greville, Fulke, Lord Brooke, 171.
Grey, William, bishop of Ely, 104, 105, 117.
Grey Friars, Grimsby, 159.
Grim, John, 20.
Grimsby, 154, 159–63.
Grimston, Sir Samuel, 176–7.
Grosseteste, Robert, bishop of Lincoln, 14, 22.
Grosvenor, Jane, 152 *n.*
Grosvenor, Sir Richard, 152 *n.*
Grousset, R., *Histoire des Croisades*, 16 *n.*
Guarino de Verona, 101, 104.
Guildhall, the (Middlesex), 75.
Guilford (I. of Wight), 179.
Guilford, Earl of. *See* North, Francis.

Haarlem Mere (Holland), 156.
Hachet, Thomas, 186–8, 192.
Haddock, Sir Richard, 170.
Hampden, Richard, 187.
Hampshire, 172
Hampstead Manor (London), 48 *n.*
Hansard, Luke, 120.
Hanse Towns, 96.
Hanses, Mr., 183.
Harleian Manuscripts, 74, 84, 89.
Harley, Edward, 2nd Earl of Oxford, 74.
Harwich, 169, 186.
Haskins, Charles Homer, 23.
Hastings, Theophilus, Earl of Huntingdon, 171.
Hatteclyffe, William, 96, 99, 117.
Hatton, Sir Christopher, 65.
Haughton Hall (Notts) 152–4, 158–9, 161.
Hayton, William, 82.
Hayward, Alderman Henry, 190.
Hendon Manor (Middlesex), 48 *n.*
Hendrede, Henry, 92.
Henry, Prince of Wales (son of James I), 157.
Henry I, King of England, 54, 79.
Henry II, King of England, 13–4.
Henry III, King of England, 54, 79.
Henry IV, King of England, 88, 90, 92, 95–6.
Henry V, King of England, 55, 88, 90–6.
Henry VI, King of England, 54, 61–2, 79–80, 82, 86–8, 93, 95, 149.
Henry VII, King of England, 45, 86, 89.
Henry VIII, King of England, 63, 107, 137, 162.
Henry of Northampton, canon of St. Paul's, 33.
Herbert, James, 187.
Hereford, 23 ; canons of, *see* Roger and Simon de Fresne.
Hertford, 170.
Hetherset (Norfolk), 151.
Hewer, William, 179 *n.*
Heyford (Northants), 79.
Hill, Sir Roger, 187.
Hillesden, Alderman, 191.
Historical Manuscripts Commission, 48.
Hobbes, Thomas, 148 *n.*
Holdsworth, Sir William, 121–2.
Holes, Andrew, 117.

Holland, 146.
Holles, Anne (dau. of Sir William Holles), 150.
Holles, Christopher (son of Sir William and Anne dau. of John Denzil), 154.
Holles, Darcy (son of Frescheville Holles and Dorothy, widow of Francis Tyrwhit), 161.
Holles, Denzil (later Lord Holles of Ifield) (son of John, 1st Earl of Clare, and Anne, dau. of Sir Thomas Stanhope), 145, 156, 164.
Holles, Denzil (son of Thomas Holles and Catherine van Ecke), 156.
Holles, Denzil of Irby (son of Sir William and Anne, dau. of John Denzil) (mar. Eleanor, dau. of 1st Lord Sheffield of Butterwick), 154–6, 158.
Holles, Edward (son of Thomas Holles of Stoke), 149.
Holles, Edward (son of William Holles), 151.
Holles, Eleanor (dau. of Thomas Holles and Catherine van Ecke), 156.
Holles, Elizabeth (dau. of Thomas Holles and Catherine van Ecke), 156.
Holles, Francis (son of Edward Holles), 151.
Holles, Francis (son of Gervase Holles and Frances, dau. of Peter Frescheville) (mar. Anne Lany of Berwick on Tweed), 160–1.
Holles, Francis (son of Sir William Holles and Elizabeth Scopham), 150–1.
Holles, Frescheville (son of Sir Gervase Holles and Frances, dau. of Peter Frescheville) (mar. (1) Elizabeth, dau. of John Kingston of Grimsby, (2) Dorothy, widow of Francis Tyrwhit), 160–3.
Holles, George (son of Denzil Holles and Eleanor, dau. of Edmund, 1st Lord Sheffield of Butterwick), 155–6.
Holles, George (son of Gervase Holles and Dorothy Kirketon of Grimsby), 163.
Holles, George (son of Thomas and Catherine van Ecke), 156.
Holles, Gervase, the Antiquary (son of Frescheville Holles and Elizabeth, dau. of John Kingston of Grimsby) (mar. Dorothy Kirketon), 145–52, 154–8, 160–3.
Holles, Sir Gervase (son of Sir William Holles and Anne, dau. of John Denzil) (mar. Frances Frescheville), 154, 158–61.
Holles, Gertrude (dau. of Sir William and Anne, dau. of John Denzil), 153–4.
Holles, John (son of Frescheville Holles and Elizabeth, dau. of John Kingston of Grimsby), 161.
Holles, John, Duke of Newcastle, 170.
Holles, Sir John, Lord Haughton, later 1st Earl of Clare (son of Denzil Holles of Irby and Eleanor, dau. of Edmund, 1st Lord Sheffield of Butterwick) (mar. Anne Stanhope), 146, 148–9, 151, 155 *n.*, 156–8.
Holles, John, 2nd Earl of Clare (son of John, 1st Earl of Clare and Anne, dau. of Sir Thomas Stanhope), 161, 163.
Holles, John, 4th Earl of Clare, later Duke of Newcastle (son of Gilbert, 3rd Earl of Clare and Grace, dau. of Hon. Wm. Pierrepont) (mar. Margaret, dau. of Henry Cavendish, 2nd Duke of Newcastle), 145.
Holles, Samuel (son of Frances Holles and Anne Lany of Berwick-on-Tweed), 160 *n.*
Holles, Thomas of Stoke, 149.
Holles, Thomas (son of Denzil Holles and Eleanor, dau. of Edmund, 1st Lord Sheffield of Butterwick) (mar. Catherine van Ecke), 155–6.
Holles, Thomas (son of Thomas Holles of Stoke), 149.
Holles, Sir Thomas (son of Sir William and Elizabeth Scopham) (mar. Catherine Payne), 150–1.
Holles, William (son of Francis Holles and Anne Lany of Berwick-on-Tweed), 148, 160–1.
Holles, William (son of Frescheville Holles and Dorothy, widow of Francis Tyrwhit), 161.
Holles, Sir William (son of Thomas Holles of Stoke) (mar. Elizabeth Scopham), 149–52.
Holles, William (son of Sir Thomas Holles and Catherine Payne), 151.

Holles, Sir William (son of Sir William and Elizabeth Scopham) (mar. Anne Denzil), 150–4, 158–9.
Holles Family, the ennoblement of, 156; genealogical table of, 165; origin of, 149–50; part played in the Civil Wars (*temp.* Ch. I) by, 148 *n.*, 160–1; poverty of, 150–1; prosperity of, 149–59; records concerning, 146–8, 163; rise of, 148.
Holles MS., 156.
Holme, Richard, 96–7.
Holmes, Sir Robert, 179.
Holy Trinity, Aldgate (London), church, 33.
Honiton (Devon), 176.
Horace, 27.
Horncastle (Lincs), 159 *n.*
Howard, Bernard, 184.
Howard, Henry, Duke of Norfolk, 172.
Hugh Capet, King of France, 9, 12.
Hull, 170.
Humphry, Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, 97.
Hunt, Mr., 49.
Huntingdon, 171, 174. Earl of, *see* Hastings, Theophilus.
Hurley Priory (Berks), 55, 66.
Hyde, Henry, Earl of Clarendon, 171.
Hyde, Laurence, Earl of Rochester, 184, 191, 194.

Ilton (Wells), 108.
Innocent III, Pope, 6, 18, 66 *n.*
Irby (Lincs), 154–5, 158.
Ireland, 91–2, 94, 158.
Isabella, Queen of England (wife of Richard II), 55.
Isle of Wight, 169, 179.
Islip, Abbot, 73.
Islip, Manor of (Oxon), 56, 74.
Italy, 110; educational relations between England and, 104–17.

Jacopo Filippo da Bergamo, 115.
Jacopo da Rocha, 112.
Jamaica, 70.
James I, King of England, 145, 156, 159 *n.*
James II, King of England, 142, 167–9, 179–84, 189, 191–2, 194.
James III, King of Scots, 94.
Jeffreys, George, Lord, 172, 187–8, 192.
Jenkins, Colonel, 178.
Jenkins, Sir Leoline, 172.
Jocelin of Courtenay, Count of Edessa, 15–16.
John, King of England, 14, 54.
John, Master, 20.
John de Cella, 28.
John de Chishul, bishop of London, 61.
John of Gaunt, 71.
John of London, 22, 26.
Joseph of Exeter, 27.
"*Justus de Justis*," 111.

Kämpf, Hellmut, 16 *n.*
Ken, Thomas, bishop of Bath and Wells, 184.
Kendale, John, 95, 99.
Kenilworth Castle, Warwickshire, 71.
Kent, 171.
Kentish Town, London, 152.
Kern, Fritz, 1.
Kervile, Robert, 149.
Ket's rebellion (1549), 154 *n.*
King, Sir Andrew, 70.
King, Oliver, bishop of Exeter, 62, 96, 98, 100.
King's College, Cambridge, 114.
Kingston, Earl of. *See* Pierrepont, William.
Kingston, Elizabeth, 161–3.
Kingston, John (I), 162.
Kingston, John (II) of Grimsby, 161–3.
Kingston, John (III) (son of John Kingston of Grimsby), 162.
Kingston, Richard, 162 *n.*
Kingston, Sir William, 162 *n.*
Kirketon, Dorothy, 163.
Kirtlington (Notts), 162.
Knightsbridge (London), 63.
Kniveton, St. Loe, 145 *n.*
Knowle, Manor of (Warwickshire), 71.
Krikelade, Robert, 37–8.

La Facolta Teologica, 103 *n*, 107.
Lamacraft, Mr., 71.
Lancashire, 172.
Lancaster, 170, 176.
Lancaster, Aveline, Countess of, 61.
Langham, Cardinal Simon, 65.
Langport, 79.
Langton, Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, 23, 28, 53.
Langton, Thomas, bishop of Winchester, 112–13, 116.
Lany, Anne, 160.
Lany, Dr. Benjamin, 160 *n.*

Lasham (Hants), 48 *n.*
Latimer, Viscount. *See* Osborne, Edward.
Law. *See* Statute Law.
" Law of Arden," 15.
Lawler, Sir Francis, 180–2.
Lazzarelli, Alessandro, 110.
Lazzarelli, Filippo, 110.
Lazzarelli, Ludovico, 109–11.
Leake, Serjeant, 193.
Learning, English (*temp.* 12th c.), evidence *re*, 19–22; external influence on, 22–7; extract from the *Panthéologie*, 38–42; extract from the poem of Simon du Fresne, 36–7; extract from the *Speculum fidei*, 37–8; influence of the English " schools " on, 19–22; monastic influence on, 25, 27–9; reasons for the lack of knowledge *re*, 19–20.
Leckhampstead (Bucks), 79.
Lee, Johanina, 105.
Lee, John, 106–7, 115, 117.
Lee, Sir Richard, 105.
Lee, Sir Thomas, 186–7.
Legge, George, Lord Dartmouth, 171, 180–1.
Legislation (*temp.* Henry VIII), light thrown upon economic history by the, 124–5; upon social history, 123–5; origins of the Statute of Uses, 121–2; proposed scheme for erection of a new court, 125–34; state papers of Henry VIII, 135–44.
Leicester, 171.
Leicester, Robert, Earl of, 32 *n.*, 79.
Le Neyt, Manor of (Middx.), 74.
Leo X, Pope, 67.
L'Estrange, Roger, 170, 183–4.
Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, 121.
Leveson, Richard, 180–2.
Levinz, Mr. Justice, 183.
Lewis, Richard, 169.
Liber de Apparatu Patavini Astiludii, 109–11.
Liber Niger, 65.
Liber Niger Domus Regis Angliae, 98.
Liber Sacri Collegii D. Artistarum Acta, 104.
Lichfield, 169, 180–2. Dean of, *see* Addison, Lancelot.
Linacre, Thomas, 117.
Lincoln, 20–1. Archdeacon of, *see* Chelworth, John. Bishops of, *see* Chelworth, John; Grosseteste, Robert; Rotherham, Thomas. Canons of, *see* Courtenay, Peter; Doggett, John.
Lincolnshire, 148, 150, 152, 154, 159–60, 162, 171.
Lindsey, Earl of. *See* Bertie, Robert.
Lombard, Peter, 23, 32–4.
Lombardy and Roman law, 15.
London, 80, 93, 115, 150–1, 155, 159, 162, 168, 180–1.
Longleat (Wilts), 146.
Longley, Thomas, bishop of Durham, 97.
Lord Keeper. *See* North, Francis.
Louis XIV, King of France, 7, 167, 169 *n.*
Low Countries, 155.
Luffield Priory (Beds), 55, 58, 66, 79–80.
Luther, Mr., 186.
Luttrell, Narcissus, 167 *n.*
Lynn (Norfolk), 93.
Lyte, Sir Henry C. Maxwell, 63, 81 *n.*, 87 *n.*, 89 *n.*

Machiavelli, 11.
Macray, William Dunn, 111.
Madden, Sir Frederick, 147 *n.*
Magna Carta, 120.
Maidford (Northants), 79.
Maitland, Frederic William, 1–2, 121, 130.
Maldon (Essex), 80, 184.
Malgerus, monk, 79.
Malvern, 66.
Manners, Edward, Earl of Rutland, 161.
Manners, John, Earl of Rutland, 171, 175.
Manuscripts of Westminster Abbey, 43.
Markham, Sir Francis, 160 *n.*
Marsiglio of Padua, 17.
Martelli, Alessandro, 104.
Martin, Olivier, 1.
Martin of Pattishall, 15.
Mary, Queen of England, 61, 64, 72, 154.
Matthew of Albano, Cardinal, 13.
Maynard, Sir William, 185.
Medici, the, 104.
Medieval State, the "civilitas" and, 5; difficulty in defining, 2–5, 7–12, 16–17; importance of abstract ideas in the development of, 4–6, 8–12, 17–18; legislation and, 13–16; literature *re*, 1–3, 7 *n.*; "necessitas" and, 6–7, 11–12; relation between "custom" and law in,

2–16; "utilitas" and, 5–6, 11–12, 16.
Meijers, E. M., *Tijdschrift voar rechtsgeschiedenis*, 15 *n.*
Meldrum, Sir John, 161.
Melfi (Italy), 14.
Mercers Company, London, 150.
Merton, Statute of (1236), 15.
Merula, Giorgio, 110.
Middle Temple (London), 163.
Middlesex, 56.
Middleton (Northants), 79.
Middleton, Charles, Earl of, 172.
Mildmay, Henry, 185–6.
Milton, John, 65.
Missenden (Bucks), 94.
Mitters, Heinrich, 1.
Mobberley (Cheshire), 149.
Modyford, Sir Thomas, 70.
Monck, Christopher, Duke of Albemarle, 171, 179–80, 184–5.
Monkesbarn (Northants), 79.
Monks of Westminster, 59.
Montferrat, Humbert de, 105.
More, Sir Thomas, 122.
Morelli, Jacopo, 115.
Morley, Mr., 183–4.
Moysen, Mr., 178.
Mulgrave, Earl of. *See* Sheffield, Edmund.
Muniments of Westminster Abbey (London), charters and deeds, 52–6; chartularies, 43, 54, 57–8, 79–80; classification of the, 46, 48–9, 51–70, 76–7; collegiate records, 67–70; condition of, 70–2; court rolls, 56; custodians of, 45–51; effect of the dissolution of the monastery on, 45, 72; historical manuscripts, 61–5; importance of, 43, 60, 65–7; Jewish shtarrs, 62–3; loss of, 72–5; Lady Margaret MSS., 64; manorial accounts, 56; miscellanea, 49, 65–7; muniment room, 44–8, 50, 52, 71–2, 76; number of documents, 72–4; obedientiary rolls, 58–60; papal bulls, 60; Pilgrim Trust and, 56, 76.
Musard family, the, 147 *n.*
Museo Civico Correr (Venice), 104, 107.
Muskham Bridge (Notts), 161.

Nave of Westminster, 59
Needham, Catherine, 162.
Needham, Sir Francis, 156.
Needham, Henry, 162.
Needham, John, 70.
Nequam, Alexander, 19–21, 23, 25–7.
Netherlands, the, 146, 151, 155, 158, 160–1.
Newark (Lincs), 161.
Newbury, First Battle of, 147 *n.*
Newcastle, Dukes of. *See* Cavendish, Henry; Holles, John, 4th Earl of Clare. Earl of, *see* Cavendish, William.
Newcastle-on-Tyne, 171.
Newport (Bucks), 188.
Newport (I. of Wight), 170, 179.
Newtown (I. of Wight), 179.
Nichols, John Gough, *Grants of Edward V*, 84.
Noel, Edward, Earl of Gainsborough, 183–4.
Noel, Wriothesley Baptist, Viscount Camden, 183–4.
Norfolk, 150, 172.
Norfolk, Duke of. *See* Howard, Henry.
North, Francis, Earl of Guilford, 167, 172.
Northampton, 20, 24, 27, 79.
Northumberland, 171.
Norwich, 59, 63.
Notre Dame (Paris), 30.
Nottingham, 170–1, 173.
Nottinghamshire, 148, 150, 152, 160.

Offa, King of Mercia, 53.
Orleans, 96; university of, 15
Orme, Captain Thomas, 180–2.
Osborne, Edward, Viscount Latimer, 188–94.
Osborne, Thomas, Earl of Danby, 187–8, 192.
Owen, Professor Leonard Victor Davies, 145 *n.*
Oxford, 19, 22, 28–9, 105, 109, 115–16, 172. Bishop of, *see* Fell, John. Earl of, *see* Harley, Edward; Vere, Aubrey de.
Oxford MS., 182, 90 *n.*, 92 *n.*, 93 *n.*
Oxford Parliament (1685), 170.
Oxfordshire, 56.
Oxney, John, 114–15, 117.
Orange, Prince of. *See* William.

Pace, Richard, 81 *n.*
Padua, 96.
Padua, the University of (15th c.), comparison between the university of Bologna and, 101–2;

Padua (*continued*)—
English students at, 101, 104–17, organisation of, 102–4; records concerning, 103–5; relations between Venice and, 101–2.
Pangbourne (Berks), 178.
Paris, 21–4, 28, 30, 32.
Paris, Peter, 117.
Parliamentary Elections, the (1685), characteristics of, 167–8; effect of the remodelling of corporation on, 176–8, 189; intervention of the Crown in, 169, 174, 179–94; parts played by the Earl of Sunderland in, 169–71, 173, 179, 182–4, 187, 194; political practices, 169–92; results of, 168, 194; Whig activities in, 173–4, 184–94.
Paschal II, Pope, 57.
Paston, Sir John, 94.
Paulet, Charles, Marquis of Winchester, 172.
Pavia, 105.
Pawle, Mr, 67.
Payne, Catherine, 150.
Pearce, Dr. E. H., bishop of Worcester, 59, 65, 76.
Penketh, Thomas, 107, 114–15.
Pepys, Samuel, 170, 176.
Peter, Prior of Holy Trinity, Aldgate (London), 33–4.
Peter de Cornubia, 38.
Peter of Poitiers, 29, 30.
Peter the Chanter, 21.
Petrarch, 116.
Petre, Thomas, Lord, 185.
Philip, Master, 20.
Philip II, King of Spain, 64.
Philip Augustus, King of France, 15, 21.
Philip the Fair, King of France, 6–7, 15.
Pierrepont, William, Earl of Kingston, 173.
Pilgrim Trust, the, 51–2, 76.
Pilton, William, 95.
Plymouth, Earl of. *See* Windsor, Thomas.
Pole, Reginald, Cardinal, 73.
Ponynges, Lady, 91.
Poole, R. L., 29.
Popes. *See* Alexander III, Clement III, Gregory VII, Gregory VIII, Innocent III, Leo X, Paschal II.
Portland, Duke of. *See* Bentinck, William John Arthur Charles James Cavendish.
Portsmouth, 171.
Powderham (Devon), 106.
Prato della Valle (Padua), 109.
Pretyman, George, dean of Westminster, 73–4.
Privy Council, 167, 171.
Privy Seal, Lord Keeper of. *See* North, Francis.
Prophet, John, 97, 99.
Public Record Office, London, 44, 48, 74–5, 79, 87 *n.*, 90 *n.*, 135.
Purviour, Thomas, canon of Wells, 107–8, 116–17.

R. Biblioteca Universitaria MSS. 305, 21.
Rackham, Rev. R. B., 65.
Radcot Bridge, Battle of, 91.
Ralph of Haute Rive, archdeacon of Colchester, 33.
Ranke, Leopold von, 1.
Ratingdon (Essex), 106.
Rattecottebrigge. *See* Radcot Bridge.
Reading, 178.
Register of Bishop Bekynton, 108.
Reports of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, 44.
Reresby, Sir John, 178.
Restoration, The (1660), 168.
Retford (Lincs), 152.
Rheims, Province of, 13.
Rich, Richard, Lord, 132.
Rich, Sir William, 178.
Richard I, King of England, 21.
Richard II, King of England, 44–5, 55, 59, 61, 71, 73, 79–82, 87, 90–1, 95, 100, 149.
Richard III, King of England, 64, 85 *n.*, 89, 95, 99, 107.
Robert, Prior of Bridlington, 27.
Robert of Cricklade, 31–2.
Robert of Melun, 23, 32–3.
Robinson, Dr. Armitage, 47, 53–4, 57, 62–3, 74, 76–8.
Rochester, Earl of. *See* Hyde, Laurence.
Roger, bishop of Worcester, 30, 32.
Roger, canon of Hereford, 23, 25.
Roger II, King of Sicily, 13 *n.*
Rolls. *See* Court.
Rome, 9, 32, 66–7, 94, 97, 104, 108, 114, 116.
Romilly, Sir Samuel, 129.
Romoald of Salerno, 13 *n.*
Roncaglia (Italy), 14.
Roper, Samuel, 145 *n.*

Rotherham, Thomas, bishop of Lincoln, Chancellor of England, 113.
Rothley (Leicestershire), 162.
Royal Historical Society, London, 120, 147; Alexander Medal, 120.
Rudhale, Richard, 117.
Russell, Edward, 174.
Russell, William, Duke of Bedford, 174.
Ruthal, Thomas, bishop of Durham, 100.
Rutland, 56. Earls of, *see* Manners, Edward and John.

St. Albans, 176. Abbot of, *see* Warin.
St. Augustine, 25–6.
St. Benedict, 13.
S. Biagio, Strada di (Padua), 102.
St. Clement Danes (London), 152.
St. Dunstan, 53.
St. Frideswide, church (Oxford), 32.
St. Giles (London), 152.
St. Helen's, church (Bishopgate Street, London), 150.
St. James's, church (Grimsby), 160.
St. John the Baptist, church (Ilchester), 108.
St. Leonard, Hospital of (Newport, Essex), 80.
St. Louis, King of France, 14.
St. Martin's-le-Grand, church (London), 55, 58, 66, 79, 89, 91.
St. Osmund, Shrine of (Salisbury), 114.
St. Pancras (London), 152.
St. Paul's Cathedral (London), 27 *n*.
St. Peter's Collegiate Church, Westminster (London), 52.
St. Peter's, church (Rome), 108.
St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster (London), 57, 66.
St. Thomas Aquinas, 7.
St. Wulfstan, 30 *n*.
Salerno (Italy), 25, 28.
Salisbury, 93. Canon of, *see* Doggett, John.
Salop, 180.
Samson, abbot of Bury, 28.
Sandwich, 176.
Sansaverino (Italy), 110.
Santa Caterina, Strada di (Padua), 102.
Sayers, Miss Dorothy, 12.
Scarborough, 175.
Scholz, Richard, 7 *n*.
Scledo, Francesco, 106.
Scopham, Elizabeth, 150–1, 154.
Scots, King of. *See* James III.
Scott, Dr. Edward J. L., 44, 49–51, 57–8, 70–1, 76–7.
Scott, Sir Gilbert, 63.
Scrooby (Lincs), 159 *n*.
Scrope, Richard, archbishop of York, 93.
Seals of State, 54–5; for Charters and Patents (*temp*. Edw. the Confessor), 54–5; for Indentures, 74; privy, 81–2, 87–90.
Secker, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, 47.
Secretary, the King's (*temp*. 15th c.), development of the office of, 81–100; diplomatic activities of, 95–6; duties of, 83–96; emoluments of, 98; importance of the office of, 93–6, 99–100; meaning of *secretarius*, 81–3; origins of, 97; position of, 89, 97–100; qualifications of, 96–7; records concerning the office of, 83–5, 89–90, 95; relations between the Crown and, 86, 88–93; between the privy seal and, 81–2, 84, 86–90, 95–6, 98; signet letters, 88–94; signet warrants, 88–9.
Secretary of State (England). *See* Spencer, Robert, Earl of Sunderland.
Selioak, John, 176–7.
Senatus, prior of Worcester, 29–30.
Seymour, Edward, Duke of Somerset, 64.
Shakerley, Sir G., 173.
Shalston (Bucks), 79.
Sharpe, Henry, 117.
Sheffield, Edmund, Earl of Mulgrave, 154.
Sheffield, Edmund, Lord, 154.
Sheffield, Eleanor, 154.
Shelley, Harriet, 70.
Shelley, Percy Bysshe, 70.
Sherborne (Dorset), 114.
Sherwood Forest (Notts), 158.
Sherwood, John, bishop of Durham, 108.
Sherwood, William, 108.
Shirley, Robert, Earl Ferrers, 181.
Shoreham (Sussex), 170.
Shrewsbury, Earl of. *See* Talbot, Charles.
Sicily, 23, 32.
Sicily, King of. *See* Roger II.
Silverstone (Northants), 79.
Simon du Fresne, canon of Hereford, 23, 36–7.

Simon of Gloucester, 20.
Society of Antiquaries London, 73–4.
Somerset, Protector. *See* Seymour, Edward, Duke of Somerset.
Somerset House (London), 75.
Sortes, Adam, 28.
Spain, 23, 155.
Spain, King of. *See* Philip II.
Spencer, Robert, Earl of Sunderland, 169–70, 179, 182–3, 187, 194.
Stafford, 172, 180.
Stafford, Sir Henry, 62.
Staffordshire, 150, 152.
Stanley, James, 180.
Stanley, Walter, 153.
Stanley, William George Richard, Earl of Derby, 172, 179.
Statutes. *See* Merton, Uses.
Statute Law: characteristics of, 120; relations between common law and, 131.
Staveley (Derbyshire), 148 *n.*, 158.
Stawell, Ralph, Lord, 169.
Stenton, Doris. *Rolls of the Justices in Eyre*, 15 *n.*
Stenton, F. M., *The First Century of English Feudalism*, 4 *n.*
Stephen, King of England, 74, 80.
Stephen, prior of Holy Trinity, Aldgate (London), 33.
Stepney (London), 105.
Stoke (Warwickshire), 149.
Stringer, Sir Thomas, 179.
Stubbs, William, 121.
Sudbury (Bucks), 192.
Sudbury, William de, 73.
Suffolk, 172.
Sunderland, Earl of. *See* Spencer, Robert.
Surrey, 56, 172.
Swan, Richard, 108.
Swereford, Alexander, 65 *n.*
Syria, 15.

Talbot, Charles, Earl of Shrewsbury, 172, 180.
Tapper, Sir Walter, 51–2.
Taunton, 174.
Temple, Mary, 190.
Temple, Sir Richard, 189–93.
Thanet, Earl of. *See* Tufton, Thomas.
The Times, 9.
Thomas of Marlborough, abbot of Evesham, 28.
Thornborough (Bucks), 79.
Thorney (Middx.), 53.
Thornley, Isabel, 120.
Thoroton, Robert, 147 *n.*, 152 *n.*
Thynne, Thomas Henry, Marquess of Bath, 146–7.
Thynne, Thomas, Viscount Weymouth, 180.
Tiptoft, John, Earl of Worcester, 102, 104, 116.
Toledo, 24.
Tours, Council of (1163), 33
Towcester (Northants), 79.
Tower, the, London, 162 *n.*
Townshend, Horatio, Viscount, 169.
Trelawney, Sir Jonathan, 169.
Treviso, 106.
Tristram, Professor E. W., 45.
Tudors, the, 121, 124.
Tufton, Thomas, Earl of Thanet, 172.
Tyrwhit, Dorothy, 161.
Tyrwhit, Francis, 161.

Uffenbach, Zacharias Conrad von, 46.
Urso of Calabria, 25.
Uses, Statute of (1536), 121.

Vane, Sir Harry, 148 *n.*
Venice, 113–15; relations between Padua and, 101–2.
Vere, Aubrey de, Earl of Oxford, 185.
Vere, Sir Francis, 155, 160–1.
Verney, Edmund, 188–91.
Verney, Sir Ralph, 187 *n.*, 188–91, 194.
Verona, 106, 111.
Versailles, 168.
Vertue, Robert, 62.
Vertue, William, 62.
Vetusta Monumenta, 73.
Vicenza, 106.
Villiers, George, Duke of Buckingham, 156 *n.*, 158, 190.

Waitz, Georg, 1.
Walden, Roger, 90–1.
Waldon, Sir Lionel, 169.
Wales, 133.
Waller, Mr., 187.
Wallis, Mr., 180.
Walsingham, Sir Francis, 65.
Walter, Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, 18, 20 *n.*
Wanley, Humphrey, 74.
Ware, abbot of Westminster, 73.
Warin, abbot of St. Albans, 28.
Warrington, 107, 114.
Warwick, 171.

Warwickshire, 145, 169, 173.
Welbeck Abbey (Notts), 146, 148 *n.*
Wells, canon of. *See* Chelworth, John.
Wendover (Bucks.), 186.
Wenlok, Walter de, abbot of Westminster, 65.
Wentworth, Sir Thomas, 148 *n.*
West Bromwich (Warwickshire), 153.
Westbury (Bristol), 108.
Westbury (Bucks), 79.
West Keale (Lincs), 161.
Westlake, Rev. H. Francis, 51, 59, 66, 76.
Westmorland, 172
Westminster (London), 168–9, 174; city of, 70, 75; school, 48, 65, 67, 69.
Westminster Abbey (London), 155. Abbots of, *see* Feckenham, John Ware; Wenlock, Walter de. Deans of, *see* Bradley, Arthur Granville; Pretyman, George. Henry VII's Chapel, 55, 61–2, 64, 74; Muniments of 45–80.
Wetherset (Weathershed), Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, 22.
Weymouth, Viscount. *See* Thynne, Thomas.
Wharton, Thomas, 187–9.
Whiddon, Joan, 150 *n.*
Whiddon, John, 150.
Whitehall (London), 83, 124, 168.
Whittlebury (Northants), 79.
Widdrington, Colonel, 180.
Widmore, Rev. Richard, 46–8, 51, 62–4
Wieruszowski, H., *Vom Imperium zum nationalen Königtum*, 7 *n.*
William I, King of England, 54, 80.
William II, King of England, 54.
William III, King of England, 145 *n.*
William de Mandeville, 55.
William de Montibus, 21–2.
William of Malmesbury, 31.
William of Nottingham, 27.
William of Tunbridge, 29.
William, Prince of Orange, 156.
Willingstone (Bucks), 79.
Willoughby, Sir Percival, 152, 159–60.
Wilmart, Dom A., 13 *n.*, 30.
Wiltshire, 171. Archdeacon of, *see* Courtenay, Peter.
Winchelsea, Earl of. *See* Finch, Heneage.
Winchester, 170, 183.
Winchester, bishops of, *see* Courtenay, Peter; Godfrey de Lucy; Langton, Thomas; William of Wykeham. Marquess of, *see* Paulet, Charles.
Windsor, Thomas, Earl of Plymouth, 170.
Windsor Castle, 84.
Winwood, Sir Ralph, 156.
Winwood, Richard, 188.
Wiseman, Samuel, 185.
Wiseman, Sir William, 185.
Witham (Somerset), 31.
Wollaton (Notts), 152, 159.
Wolsey, Thomas, Cardinal, 124, 162 *n.*
Wolverton (Bucks), 79.
Worcester, 170. Bishops of, *see* Roger; Pearce, E. H. Earl of, *see* Tiptoft, John.
Worcestershire, 56, 170.
Wren, Sir Christopher, 65, 69.
Wrigh, Edmund, 117.
Wykeham, William of, bishop of Winchester, 82.
Wyon, Allan, 54.

Yarmouth, 94.
Yarmouth (I. of Wight), 179.
York, 93, 95, 148 *n.*, 178. Archbishop of, *see* Scrope, Richard.
Yorkshire, 150, 171–2.

Zonta, Giuseppe, 103–4, 107.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL. SESSION 1934–1935.

The Council of the Royal Historical Society have the honour of presenting the Annual Report to the General Meeting of Fellows as follows :—

The Council have made a new departure in the activities of the Society in deciding to prepare and publish an annual list of *Writings on English History*, beginning with the year 1934. It is intended to issue a volume for each year and to include in it an exhaustive list of articles in periodicals and of separate publications issued during the year relating to English history, and so to supply for English students some work such as is provided for American history by the *Writings on American History* issued by the American Historical Association, for French history by the *Répertoire bibliographique de l'histoire de France*, and for German history by the *Jahresberichte der deutschen Geschichte*. For the purpose of carrying out this work, the Council have instituted a new full-time appointment at the offices of the Society, the salary of which is to be charged to the Prothero Fund, and have appointed to that post Mr. A. T. Milne, who entered upon his duties on July 1, 1935.

The Council do not see their way to issue the above volume free to Fellows, in addition to the volumes of *Transactions* and of the *Camden Series* already received by them. They propose to put the volume on sale and to issue it to Fellows at a reduced rate. The Council will move accordingly an amendment of By-law XII.

During the past year, the Society's Library has been entirely reorganised upon the lines indicated in the Council's report for the Session 1933–1934. The Council have withdrawn from the library and disposed by sale or exchange,

of a large number of miscellaneous volumes and foreign serial publications, which fell outside the scope of a library of texts of British and colonial history ; although by reason of rarity, the fullness of the Society's sets, and their value for English history, they have retained in addition to works which may be classed strictly as materials for English history, the Dutch *Rijks geschiedkundige publicatien*, the *Collection S'bornik*, published by the Imperial Russian Historical Society, and one or two other foreign collections. The library now consists of a collection of texts, together with a reference section, which includes as well as the standard books of reference and various catalogues of manuscripts, bibliographies, handbooks and other technical works, a limited number of foreign periodicals retained as bibliographical aids, and a small collection of the more important monographs. The Council have now set themselves to acquire for the library, either by exchange or by expenditure out of the funds derived from the sale of books withdrawn, the publications of the British record societies and the record publications of county and municipal authorities, in which the library has hitherto been deficient. In this task, the Council would welcome the co-operation of the Fellows and Associates. They would be glad in particular to obtain files of the following publications :—British Record Society (except parts 177–89), Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society (Record Series), Dugdale Society, English Place Name Society, Hakluyt Society, Lincoln Record Society (except vols. 27, 28 and 29), Northamptonshire Record Society, Newcastle-upon-Tyne Record Society, Vol. XII, Somerset Record Society, Southampton Record Society, Sussex Record Society, William Salt Archæological Society (except series I), Worcestershire Historical Society.

At the Annual General Meeting held on February 14, 1935, J. F. Chance was elected an Honorary Vice-President. The Vice-Presidents retiring under By-law XVII were Dr. Rose Graham and Dr. G. P. Gooch. The Rev. Professor Canon Claude Jenkins and Charles Johnson were elected

Vice-Presidents to fill the vacancies. The members of Council retiring under By-law XVII were Hilary Jenkinson, Professor Hilda Johnstone, V. H. Galbraith, Professor E. F. Jacob and Professor A. P. Newton. C. S. B. Buckland, Professor D. C. Douglas, A. V. Judges and Professor William Rees were elected Members of Council.

A. E. Stamp was appointed auditor for the Council; P. W. Chandler and the Rev. W. T. Whitley auditors for the Fellows.

By a revision of By-law XXXVII the Fellows will in future choose two auditors, not of the Council, at the Anniversary Meeting, instead of at the last Ordinary Meeting in each session.

The following papers were read during the Session 1934–1935 :—

" Joseph Chamberlain's Foreign Policy, especially in reference to Germany, 1883–1901." By Sir Raymond Beazley, D.Litt., Hon. V.P.R.Hist.S. (October 11, 1934.)

" Russia and Panslavism in the Eighteen-seventies." By B. H. Sumner, M.A. (November 8, 1934.)

" Pierre d'Ailly and the Council of Constance." By Miss A. E. Roberts, M.A. (December 13, 1934.)

" Faversham and the Cinque Ports (13th–17th Centuries)." By Miss K. M. E. Murray, B.A., B.Litt. (January 10, 1935.)

" The Jacobite Activities in South and West England in the Summer of 1715." By Sir Charles Petrie, Bt., M.A., F.R.Hist.S. (March 14, 1935.)

" The Scope and Method of Art History." By Professor W. G. Constable, M.A., F.S.A. (May 9, 1935.)

The President, Professor F. M. Powicke, M.A., Litt.D., F.B.A., delivered an address at the Anniversary Meeting on February 14, 1935, his subject being " Guy de Montfort, 1265–1271."

The Alexander Medal was awarded to S. T. Bindoff, M.A., for an essay entitled " The Unreformed Diplomatic Service, 1812–1860."

The Presidential Address and the Alexander Essay with four of the above papers, and a communication on " The Inquisitional Archives as a Source of English History "

received from Cecil Roth, B.Litt., D.Phil., were published in *Transactions*, Fourth Series, Vol. XVIII.

In addition to the volume of *Transactions* there was issued in March, 1935, as Vol. L of the Camden Series, a continuation of the *List of British Diplomatic Representatives* for the years 1789–1852, edited by S. T. Bindoff, Miss Malcolm Smith and Professor C. K. Webster.

The following publications were almost completed in the press on November 1, 1935 :—

Rotuli Parliamentorum Anglie hactenus inediti. Edited by H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles.

General and Provincial Chapters of the English Black Monks, 1215–1540, Vol. III. Edited by W. A. Pantin.

Camden Miscellany, Vol. XVI. Edited by Sir E. Denison Ross, L. G. Wickham Legg, Harold Hulme and F. W. Brooks.

A concluding volume of the *List of British Diplomatic Representatives*, namely for the years 1509–1689, a volume containing the text of *Robert Loder's Farm Journal*, 1610–1620, edited by G. E. Fussell, and the text of volumes III and IV of *John of Gaunt's Register*, edited by Dr. Eleanor Lodge, were in an advanced state of preparation at the same date.

The above volumes will be issued in the Camden Series. Besides these, four more volumes were in immediate preparation in the new series recently planned, namely *British Currency*, *British Chronology*, *British Commercial and Shipping Statistics* (1696–1782) and a *List of Parliamentary Papers*, 1700–1800.

The following publications were also in preparation :—

The Proceedings under the Dictum de Kenilworth. Edited by Professor F. M. Powicke and M. Tyson.

The Liber Pilosus of St. Paul's Cathedral (Part I). Edited by Miss Marion Gibbs, with a preface by Professor Stenton.

Further progress has been made with the preparation of Volume III of the *Bibliography of British History*, 1714–1789.

The President has also made inquiries, for the information of the Council, as to the prospects and means of publishing a new edition of the late Charles Gross's *Sources and*

Literature of English History from the earliest Times to about 1485.

For the Anderson Berry Prize the Council appointed as examiners for the year 1934 Professor R. K. Hannay, M.A., of Edinburgh University, and Professor J. D. Mackie, M.A., of Glasgow University. Three essays were submitted, but on the report of the examiners no award was made.

On Thursday, July 4, the Society gave an afternoon party.

The rooms of the Society were used for meetings of the British Archæological Society, the Canterbury and York Society, the Central London Branch of the Historical Association, the Huguenot Society of London, the Japan Society, the Lingard Society and the Royal Numismatic Society.

The Council have, with regret, to record the deaths of 19 Fellows during the Session, including Lord Fitzmaurice, a Member of Council from 1891 to 1896, a Vice-President from 1900 to 1903, and an Honorary Vice-President from 1903 until his death. In addition, 16 Fellows have been lost by resignation, 7 by removal from the roll for non-payment of subscriptions, 3 libraries by resignation and 2 by removal from the roll for non-payment of subscriptions.

Twenty new Fellows and 18 Associates were elected, 3 Fellows were reinstated and 6 libraries were admitted as subscribing libraries.

The names of 17 distinguished scholars have been added to the list of Corresponding Members.

The total membership of the Society on October 31, 1935, was 914 Fellows, including Ordinary, Life, Honorary and Corresponding Fellows and 19 Associates. There were 277 subscribing Libraries. Of the Fellows 3 were Honorary, 47 were Corresponding and 162 were Life Fellows. The net result was a decrease of 19 Fellows and an increase of 18 Associates and one Library. There were 39 Societies, British and foreign, which exchanged their publications with the *Transactions* and Camden Series of the Society.

The Treasurer reports that the income of the year ending

October 31, 1935, exceeded the expenditure chargeable against it by £695 8*s.* 3*d.* This large figure is accounted for by the facts that: firstly, the cost of publications is only £353 10*s.* against £926 18*s.* 8*d.* last year; moreover, the amount due to the printers last year was £828, whereas in this year's account the figure is £742. Secondly, nothing is charged on the expenditure side for cost of Library, as the Council allocated £50 and of this amount only £48 11*s.* 2*d.* has been spent. This will be found in the Balance Sheet. It should be mentioned that the Council decided to sell some of the books in the Library and £189 13*s.* 8*d.* was received under this head for the special Library Fund thus created. Purchase of necessary books for reference accounted for £109 17*s.* 1*d.*, so that £79 16*s.* 7*d.* still remains for future accessions. Under the heading of Premises (upkeep and repairs) there is an increase of about £90 incurred by additional bookcases, outside painting and some internal painting and repairs. The Council purchased £400 Metropolitan Water Board 4½% Stock and this has been equally divided between the Lease Renewal Fund and the Fund in aid of Pensions. These two funds with accumulated interest now stand respectively in the Balance Sheet at £975 14*s.* 9*d.* and £1,166 8*s.* 3*d.*

The Capital Liabilities, £5,150 13*s.* 7*d.*, are fully secured against the Society's investments, shown in the Balance Sheet at £6,296 5*s.* 1*d.*, but whose current market value as on October 31 was £7,944. In addition to this amount there is on deposit at the Bank £1,101 3*s.* 5*d.*

Appended to the Society's own accounts are separate accounts for the Prothero Trust and the David Berry Trust which have been duly audited. The value of the Prothero Bequest is likely to prove to be substantially greater than was at first anticipated, but a final statement must be postponed until next year.

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

I.—Income and Expenditure for the Year ending October 31, 1935.

Income.			£ s. d.
Arrears of Subscriptions		£99 6 0	
Less amount estimated to be received in last year's accounts for subscriptions in arrear		35 0 0	
Subscriptions in arrear, received in excess of estimate			64 6 0
Subscriptions now in arrear estimated to be received			35 0 0
Subscriptions of 1935 :			
" "	1 at 20s.	1 0 0	
" "	24 at 21s.	25 4 0	
" "	267 at 30s.	400 10 0	
" "	653 at 42s.	1371 6 0	
			1798 0 0
Life subscriptions		87 3 0	
Less proportion required by By-law IX to be invested (see Balance-sheet)		58 2 0	
			29 1 0
Dividends on Investments			205 15 4
Interest on Deposit Account at Bank			6 11 8
Rentals of parts of 22 Russell Square let to Tenants			304 16 0
			£2443 10 0

Expenditure.			£ s. d.
Publications : Printing, Distributing, Editing and Indexing :			
Expenditure in the Year		496 16 0	
Add reserved for Printers' Outstanding Account		742 0 0	
		1238 16 0	
Less Amount reserved at October 31, 1934		828 0 0	
		410 16 0	
Deduct received from Sales		57 6 0	
			353 10 0
Salaries and Wages			716 18 0
Rent, 22 Russell Square			170 0 0
Coal			19 2 0
Electric Light, Gas, etc.			15 5 1
Rates (Parochial, etc.) and Taxes			173 9 11
General Printing and Stationery			62 6 0
Library : see Balance Sheet.			0 0 0
Postages, etc.			38 14 0
Premises, 22 Russell Square : upkeep, repairs, etc.			107 16 11
Insurance (Fire, National Health, etc.)			13 1 5
Monthly Meetings (cost of Refreshments)			18 18 5
Alexander Medal			3 7 6
Contribution to British Committee of International Congress			15 15 0
Sundries (Petty Cash payments)			39 17 6
			1748 1 9
Balance, being excess of Income over Expenditure			695 8 3
			£2443 10 0

II.—Balance-sheet as of October 31, 1935.

Liabilities.			£ s. d.
Life subscriptions required to be invested as Capital Account (By-law IX) : amount brought forward from last Balance-sheet	£2870 12 0		
Proportion of Life subscriptions received in 1935 (see Income and Expenditure Account)	58 2 0		
		2928 14 0	
Lease Renewal Fund :			
Balance from last Account	716 4 6		
Cost of £200 Metropolitan Water Board Stock 4½%	235 0 6		
Interest received	24 9 9		
		975 14 9	
Fund in aid of Pensions :			
Balance from last account	899 18 0		
Cost of £200 Metropolitan Water Board Stock 4½%	235 0 6		
Interest received	31 9 9		
		1166 8 3	
Library Fund :			
Receipts	189 13 8		
Less Purchases	109 17 1		
		79 16 7	
		5150 13 7	
Library Grant	50 0 0		
Less expended	48 11 2		
		1 8 10	
Subscriptions received in advance		14 14 0	
Amount reserved as due to Printers		742 0 0	
Balance, being surplus of Assets over Liabilities at date, viz., Amount brought forward from last year	3535 10 9		
Deduct Fund in aid of Pensions (above) £235 0 6			
Lease Renewal Fund (above) 235 0 6			
Library allocation (above) 50 0 0	520 1 0		
	3015 9 9		
Add Excess of Income over Expenditure as per Account I	695 8 3		
		3710 18 0	
		£9619 14 5	

General Assets.			£ s. d.
Consols 2½%, £699 9s. 9d. valued at } in 1920		£314 0 0	
India 3½% Stock, £900 valued at } in 1920		500 0 0	
Canada 3½% Stock, £300 valued at } in 1920		200 0 0	
500 National Savings Certificates, at cost		400 0 0	
Conversion Stock 5%, £879 3s. 6d., at cost		826 3 1	
Conversion Stock 4½%, £1220 at cost		1177 2 3	
Conversion Stock 3½%, £2823 0 1 at cost		2408 18 9	
Metropolitan Water Board 4½%, £400 at cost		470 1 0	
			6296 5 1
[The market value of the above investments on October 31, 1935, was £7944]			
Cash at Bank : Current Account	£186 16 1		
" Deposit "	1101 3 5		
Petty Cash Balance in hand	0 9 10		
			1288 9 4
Stock of Publications at Russell Square (valued as insured)			100 0 0
Stock of Publications with Printer (value as insured)			500 0 0
Library (value as insured)			1000 0 0
" Manuscripts (value as insured)			100 0 0
Furniture, etc. " "			300 0 0
Subscriptions in arrear estimated to be received (see Income and Expenditure Account)			35 0 0
			£9619 14 5

(*Signed*) M. S. Giuseppi, *Hon. Treasurer.*

Auditors' Report.

The above Statement of Income and Expenditure and Balance-sheet have been prepared from the Books and Vouchers, and we hereby certify the same to be correct, and to exhibit a true statement of the Society's financial position.

(*Signed*) Pretor W. Chandler
A. E. Stamp
W. T. Whitley
} *Auditors.*

December 10th, 1935.

THE PROTHERO TRUST

The late Sir George W. Prothero by will proved the 22 day of September 1922, bequeathed the residue of his property to the Society upon trust for (1) the promotion of historical research, (2) the acquisition and maintenance of a library dealing with the history of the British Empire, and (3) other purposes of the Society.

1.—INCOME AND EXPENDITURE UP TO OCTOBER 31, 1935.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Dividends and Interest	784	0	2	Taxes on 24 Bedford Square	22	3	11
Sundries	7	18	6	Stationery and Typing	8	9	11
				Salaries, including that of Assistant Officer in connection with historical research	127	10	0
				Premium on Pension Fund for Assistant Officer	31	6	4
				Binding and Repair of Library Books	78	10	0
					268	0	2
				Balance: Excess of Income over Expenditure carried to Balance Sheet of Income	523	18	6
	£791	18	8		£791	18	8

2.—BALANCE SHEET OF THE INCOME OF THE TRUST, AS OF OCTOBER 31, 1935.

1935		£	s.	d.	1935		£	s.	d.
Oct. 31.	Surplus on the Income Account: Excess of Income over Expenditure to date as per Account	523	18	6	Oct. 31.	Cash at Bank: Current Account	520	10	0
						Deposit Account (part of £485 15s. 6d.)	3	8	6
		£523	18	6			£523	18	6

3.—CAPITAL ACCOUNT TO OCTOBER 31, 1935.

1935		Investments. £ s. d.	Cash Paid. £ s. d.
Feb. 18.	To Sale of Shares in Utah Gas Company	178 1 6	
„ 18.	„ Sale of Lease, etc., 24 Bedford Square	1309 2 3	
„ 27.	„ Cash for purchase of £1350 Local Loans 3%		1311 6 9
July 31.	„ Sale of Shares European Gas Company	450 0 0	
„ 31.	„ Cash for purchase of £41 British Oxygen Co., Ltd.		143 10 0
Oct. 31.	„ Balance to credit to date, carried forward	18,687 2 9	482 7 0
		£20,624 6 6	£1937 3 9

1935		Investments. £ s. d.	Cash Received. £ s. d.
Feb.	By Securities taken over from the Trustees of the late Sir George W. Prothero to date	17,860 7	
„	„ Lease, etc., of 24 Bedford Square, taken over from the Trustees of the late Sir George W. Prothero (estimated value)	1309 2 3	
Feb. 18.	„ Cash on Sale of Shares in Utah Gas Company		178 1 6
„ 18.	„ Cash on Sale of Lease, etc., Bedford Square		1309 2 3
„ 27.	„ Purchase of £1350 Local Loans 3%	1311 6 9	
July 31.	„ Purchase of £41 British Oxygen Company	143 10 0	
July 31.	„ Cash on Sale of Shares European Gas Company		450 0 0
		£20,624 6 6	£1937 3 9

4.—BALANCE SHEET OF THE CAPITAL OF THE TRUST, AS OF OCTOBER 31, 1935.

1935		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Oct. 31.	Amount of the Capital of the Trust arrived at as follows:		
	Nominal Value of Securities taken over from the Trustees of the late Sir G. W. Prothero to date	17,860 7 6	
	Add Lease, etc., of 24 Bedford Square (realization value)	1309 2 3	
		£19,169 9 9	

1935		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Oct. 31.	Cash at Bank:		
	Deposit Account (Part of £485 15s. 6d.)		482 7 0
	Investments:		
	Received from Trustees of Sir G. W. Prothero (nominal values)	17,860 7 6	
	Less Realizations	628 1 6	
		17,232 6 0	
	Add Society's Investments at Cost:		
	£1350 Local Loans 3%	1311 6 9	
	£250 British Oxygen Co., Ltd.	143 10 0	
			18,687 2 9
			£19,169 9 9

We have examined the above accounts and find them to be in accord with the books and vouchers relating to the Fund.

December 10th, 1935.

PRETOR W. CHANDLER
A. E STAMP
W. T. WHITLEY
Hon. Auditors Royal Historical Society.

THE PROTHERO TRUST—(*continued*)

A.—LIST OF SECURITIES RECEIVED FROM THE TRUSTEES OF SIR G. W. PROTHERO UP TO OCTOBER 31, 1935

£ 80	Assoc. Elec. Industries, Ltd., Pref. Stock
£1000	Australian Merc. Land & Finance Co., Ltd., 4% Deb. Stock
£ 350	British Columbia Elect. Rly., Ltd., 4½% Deb. Stock
£ 375	Do. do. 5% Cum. Pref. Stock Perp.
£ 250	British Oxygen Co., Ltd. Ordinary Shares £1 each
£ 600	Buenos Ayres Western Rly., Ltd., Ordy. Stock
£ 500	Canadian Northern Rly. 4% Deb. Stock
£1048	Canadian Pacific Rly. Perp. 4% Consd. Deb. Stock
£ 300	Central Argentine Rly., Ltd., Consd. Ordy. Stock
£ 200	Do. 4½% Pref. Stock
£ 731	Conversion Stock 3½%.
£ 200	East London Corporation Loan 4% Inscribed Stock 1954
£ 450	*European Gas Co. Stock
£ 250	Arthur Guiness Son & Co., Ltd., 6% Pref. Stock
£ 400	Grand Trunk Rly. Co. of Canada Perp. 4% Consd. Deb. Stock
£ 506	Imperial Continental Gas Assn. Capital Stock
£ 375	London Elec. Supply Corpn., Ltd., Pref. 75 shares £5 each
£ 200	London & Midland & Scottish Rly. 5% Red. Pref. Stock 1955
£ 500	Do. do. 4% Pref. Stock 1923
£ 550	London & North Eastern Rly. Co. 4% 1st Gteed. Stock
£ 100	Do. do. 4% 2nd Pref. Stock
£8965	*carried forward*

£8965	*Brought forward*
£ 80	London & North Eastern Rly. Co. 5% Pref. Ordy. Stock
£ 300	Mexican Rly. Co. 6% Deb. Stock
£ 28. 4.6	Do 4½% Regd. Stock, Issue A
£ 100	Montreal, City of, 4½% Stg. Regd. Stock 1952
£ 300	North Eastern Elec. Supply Co. 7% Cum. Pref. Shares, £1 each
£ 500	P. & O. Steam Nav. Co. 5% Cum. Pref. Stock
£ 110.17.2	Port of London Authority 3½% Regd. Stock 1965/75
£ 91	Primitiva Holdings, Ltd., Ordy. Stock
£ 75	The R.M. Realisation Co., Ltd. Shares, £1 each
£ 250	Do. do. 5% Inc. Deb. Stock
£ 350	Rio Clare Rly. & Investment Co. 5% Deb. Stock
£ 600	Southampton Gas Light & Coke Co. 5% Ordy. Stock
£ 200	Do. do. 5% Red. Deb. Stock
£ 400	Southend Waterworks Co. New Ordy. 5% Share Capital
£ 178. 1.6	*Utah Gas Co. ($1000 bill)
£ 200	Vancouver Power Co., Ltd., 4½% Gteed. Deb. Stock
£4052. 4.4	War Stock 3½%
£ 330	Waste Heat & Gas Elec. Generating Stations Ltd. Shares £1 each
£ 500	Worthington & Co., Ltd., 3½% "B" Mtge. Deb. Stock
£ 250	Robert Younger, Ltd., Pref. 25 shares £10 each
£17,860. 7.6	(*See Accounts 3 and 4*)

* Since sold, *vide* the Accounts.

B.—LIST OF SECURITIES PURCHASED BY THE SOCIETY OUT OF THE PROCEEDS OF THE SALE OF THE LEASE, ETC., OF 24 BEDFORD SQUARE AND THE SHARES IN THE EUROPEAN AND UTAH GAS COMPANIES

(The proceeds of the sale of the holding of Utah Gas Company have been placed to the credit of the deposit account at the Bank.)

£41 Ordinary Stock in the British Oxygen Co., Ltd.

£1350 Local Loans 3%.

Note: Further Securities will be received by the Society at a date later than that of these accounts.

The late David Anderson Berry, by his Will dated the 23 day of April 1926, left £1000 to provide in every third year a gold medal and prize money for the best essay on the Earl of Bothwell or, at the discretion of the Trustee, on Scottish History of the James Stuarts I to VI, in memory of his father, the late Rev. David Berry.

The Trust is now regulated by a Scheme sanctioned by the Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice dated the 23rd day of January, 1930, and made in an Action 1927.A.1233 David Anderson Berry decd., Hunter and another v. Robertson and another.

This Society is now the Trustee, and the investments consist of £464 17s. 2d. 3½ per cent. Conversion Stock and £518 New Zealand 4½ per cent. Inscribed Stock 1945.

The Trustee will in every second year of the three-year period advertise in *The Times* inviting essays.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE.

For the year November 1, 1934, *to October* 31, 1935.

Receipts.

			£	s.	d.
1934 Nov. 1.	Balance in hand brought forward from last account, viz.:				
	Petty Cash Balance in Hand.	£ 17 3			
	Balance in Bank Pass Book .	194 5 7			
			195	2	10
1935 March 4.	Cash and Dividend on Investments per Charity Commissioners		11	13	1
April 3.	,, ,, ,, ,,		11	2	2
Sept. 4.	,, ,, ,, ,,		11	13	1
Oct. 3.	,, ,, ,, ,,		11	2	2
			£240	13	4

Payments.

		£	s.	d.
1934 Dec. 17.	Examiners' fees	21	0	0
1935 March 19.	Printing	2	19	1
April 18.	Advertising	25	16	6
Oct. 31.	Sundries	3	7	8
		53	3	3
Oct. 31.	Balance in hand carried forward, viz.:			
	Petty Cash Balance in Hand £ 2 9 7			
	Balance in the Bank . . 185 0 6			
		187	10	1
		£240	13	4

We have examined the above account and find it correct. (*Signed*) PRETOR W. CHANDLER, A. E. STAMP, W. T. WHITLEY } *Auditors.*

December 10th, 1935.

THE ALEXANDER TRUST.

Mr. L. C. Alexander in 1897 gave Russian 4 per cent. Bonds for £100, the interest of which was to purchase a Silver Medal to be awarded yearly for the best essay of not more than 6,000 words. The Russian Bond is at present of no value. Since no interest has been paid the Society has voluntarily purchased the Medal out of the funds of the Society.

ALEXANDER PRIZE

The Alexander Prize was established in 1897 by L. C. Alexander, F.R.Hist.S. It consists of a Silver Medal awarded annually for an essay upon some historical subject. Candidates may select their own subject provided such subject has been previously submitted to and approved by the Literary Director. The essay must be a genuine work of original research, not hitherto published, and one which has not been awarded any other prize. It must not exceed 6,000 words in length and must be sent in on or before February 28th.

LIST OF ALEXANDER PRIZE ESSAYISTS (1898–1935) [1]

1898. F. Hermia Durham (" The Relations of the Crown to Trade under James I ").

1899. W. F. Lord, B.A. (" The Development of Political Parties in the reign of Queen Anne ").

1901. Laura M. Roberts (" The Peace of Lunéville ").

1902. V. B. Redstone (" The Social Condition of England during the Wars of the Roses ").

1903. Rose Graham (" The Intellectual Influence of English Monasticism between the tenth and twelfth centuries ").

1904. Enid W. G. Routh (" The Balance of Power in the Seventeenth Century ").

1905. W. A. P. Mason, M.A. (" The Beginnings of the Cistercian Order ").

1906. Rachel R. Reid, M.A. (" The Rebellion of the Earls, 1569 ").

1908. Kate Hotblack (" The Peace of Paris, 1763 ").

1909. Nellie Nield, M.A. (" The Social and Economic Condition of the Unfree Classes in England in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries ").

[1] No award was made in 1900, 1907, 1910, 1911, 1913, 1914, 1921. The prize Essays for 1909 and 1919 were not published in the *Transactions*. No Essays were submitted in 1915 and 1916.

1912. H. G. Richardson (" The Parish Clergy of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries ").

1917. Isobel D. Thornley, B.A. (" The Treason Legislation of 1531–1534 ").

1918. T. Plucknett, B.A. (" The Place of the Council in the Fifteenth Century ").

1919. Edna F. White, M.A. (" The Jurisdiction of the Privy Council under the Tudors ").

1920. J. E. Neale, M.A. (" The Commons Journals of the Tudor Period ").

1922. C. E. Martin (" The English Establishments on the Gold Coast in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century ").

1923. E. W. Hensman, M.A. (" The Civil War of 1648 in the East Midlands ").

1924. Grace Stretton, B.A. (" Some Aspects of Mediæval Travel ").

1925. F. A. Mace, M.A. (" Devonshire Ports in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries ").

1926. Marian J. Tooley, M.A. (" The Authorship of the *Defensor Pacis* ").

1927. W. A. Pantin, B.A. (" Chapters of the English Black Monks, 1215–1540 ").

1928. Gladys A. Thornton, B.A., Ph.D. (" A Study in the History of Clare, Suffolk, with special reference to its development as a Borough ").

1929. F. S. Rodkey, A.M., Ph.D. (" Lord Palmerston's Policy for the Re-juvenation of Turkey, 1839–47 ").

1930. A. A. Ettinger, D.Phil. (" The Proposed Anglo-Franco-American Treaty of 1852 to guarantee Cuba to Spain ").

1931. Kathleen A. Walpole, M.A. (" The Humanitarian Movement of the Early Nineteenth Century to Remedy Abuses on Emigrant Vessels to America ").

1932. Dorothy M. Brodie, B.A. (" Edmund Dudley, Minister of Henry VII ").

1933. R. W. Southern, B.A. (" Ranulf Flambard and Early Anglo-Norman Administration ").

1934. S. B. Chrimes, M.A., Ph.D. (" Sir John Fortescue and his Theory of Dominion ").

1935. S. T. Bindoff, M.A. (" The Unreformed Diplomatic Service, 1812–60 ").

1936. Rosamond J. Mitchell, M.A., B.Litt. (" English Students at Padua, 1460–1475 ").

DAVID BERRY PRIZE

The David Berry Prize was established in 1929 by David Anderson-Berry in memory of his Father the Reverend David Berry. It consists of a Gold Medal and Money Prize awarded every three years for Scottish History. Candidates may select any subject dealing with Scottish History within the reigns of James I to James VI inclusive, provided such subject has been previously submitted to and approved by the Council of the Royal Historical Society. The Essay must be a genuine work of original research not hitherto published, and one which has not been awarded any other prize. There is no limit to the length of the Essay. It must be sent in on or before October 31st, 1937.

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

(INCORPORATED BY ROYAL CHARTER.)

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL—1935-36.

Patron.

HIS MAJESTY THE KING.

President.

PROFESSOR F. M. POWICKE, M.A., Litt.D., F.B.A.

Honorary Vice-Presidents.

PROFESSOR SIR RAYMOND BEAZLEY, J.P., M.A., D.Litt.
SIR REGINALD BLOMFIELD, R.A., M.A., D.Litt., F.S.A.
J. F. CHANCE, M.A.
THE RIGHT HON. WINSTON S. CHURCHILL.
THE RIGHT HON. LORD ERNLE, M.V.O., M.A.
PROFESSOR SIR CHARLES FIRTH, Litt.D., LL.D., F.B.A. (died February, 1936).
THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF GLOUCESTER, D.D., Litt.D., F.S.A.
G. P. GOOCH, M.A., D.Litt., F.B.A.
PROFESSOR A. J. GRANT, M.A., Litt.D.
THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF ILCHESTER.
PROFESSOR SIR JOHN LLOYD, M.A., D.Litt., F.B.A., F.S.A.
PROFESSOR SIR CHARLES OMAN, M.P., LL.D., D.C.L., F.B.A., F.S.A.
A. F. POLLARD, D.Lit., Litt.D., F.B.A.
THE RIGHT HON. SIR FREDERICK POLLOCK, BT., K.C., D.C.L., LL.D., F.B.A.
R. L. POOLE, LL.D., Litt.D., F.B.A.
PRINCIPAL SIR ROBERT RAIT, C.B.E., LL.D. (died May, 1936).
R. A. ROBERTS.
PROFESSOR G. M. TREVELYAN, O.M., Litt.D., F.B.A.
THE REV. PROFESSOR J. P. WHITNEY, D.D., D.C.L.
PROFESSOR G. M. WRONG, M.A., LL.D.

Vice-Presidents.

SIR RICHARD LODGE, M.A., LL.D., Litt.D. (died August, 1936).
A. E. STAMP, C.B., M.A., F.S.A.
PROFESSOR F. M. STENTON, M.A., F.B.A.
PROFESSOR H. W. V. TEMPERLEY, O.B.E., Litt.D., F.B.A.
REV. CANON CLAUDE JENKINS, D.D., F.S.A.
CHARLES JOHNSON, M.A., F.B.A., F.S.A.
MISS ROSE GRAHAM, M.A., D.Litt., F.S.A.
PROFESSOR A. P. NEWTON, M.A., D.Litt., F.S.A.

Council.

A. L. Poole, M.A.
Professor C. K. Webster, M.A., Litt.D., F.B.A.
G. H. White.
D. A. Winstanley, M.A.
Herbert Wood, B.A., F.S.A.
Miss I. J. Churchill, D.Phil., F.S.A.
Professor G. S. Veitch, M.A., Litt.D.
C. S. B. Buckland, M.A., D.Litt.
Professor D. C. Douglas, M.A.
A. V. Judges, B.A.
Professor William Rees, M.A., D.Sc.
A. Aspinall, M.A., Ph.D.
Miss H. M. Cam, M.A.
R. R. Darlington, B.A., Ph.D.
R. Pares, M.A.
L. E. Tanner, M.V.O., M.A., F.S.A.

Honorary Secretary.

Professor H. Hale Bellot, M.A.

Director.

Hubert Hall, Litt.D., F.S.A.

Honorary Treasurer.

M. S. Giuseppi, I.S.O., F.S.A.

Auditors.

J. Holland Walker, M.B.E., F.S.A. A. E. Stamp, C.B., M.A., F.S.A.
Rev. W. T. Whitley, LL.D.

Assistant Secretary and Librarian.

Miss M. B. Curran, M.A.

Assistant Officer and Junior Librarian.

A. T. Milne, M.A.

Library and Offices.

22 Russell Square, W.C.1.

Bankers.

Barclays Limited, 9 Russell Square, W.C.1.

STANDING COMMITTEES—1935-36.

Finance Committee.

A. H. Cheney.
A. V. Judges, B.A.
L. C. Loyd, B.A.
G. H. White.
Herbert Wood, B.A., F.S.A.
Professor F. M. Powicke, M.A., Litt.D., F.B.A., *President.*
Hubert Hall, Litt.D., F.S.A., *Director.*
M. S. Giuseppi, I.S.O., F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer.*
Professor H. Hale Bellot, M.A., *Hon. Secretary.*

Library Committee.

C. S. B. Buckland, M.A., D.Litt.
C. Johnson, M.A., F.B.A., F.S.A.
C. G. Parsloe, B.A.
G. H. White.
Professor F. M. Powicke, M.A., Litt.D., F.B.A., *President.*
Hubert Hall, Litt.D., F.S.A., *Director.*
M. S. Giuseppi, I.S.O., F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer.*
Professor H. Hale Bellot, M.A., *Hon. Secretary.*

Publication Committee.

Miss H. M. Cam, M.A.
Professor D. C. Douglas, M.A.
A. V. Judges, B.A.
Professor Lillian Penson, B.A., Ph.D.
Professor William Rees, M.A., D.Sc.
Professor F. M. Stenton, M.A., F.B.A.
Professor C. K. Webster, M.A., Litt.D., F.B.A.
Professor C. H. Williams, M.A.
Professor F. M. Powicke, M.A., Litt.D., F.B.A., *President.*
Hubert Hall, Litt.D., F.S.A., *Director.*
M. S. Giuseppi, I.S.O., F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer.*
Professor H. Hale Bellot, M.A., *Hon. Secretary.*

Bibliography (Annual) Committee.

R. R. Darlington, B.A., Ph.D.
A. V. Judges, B.A.
Professor Lillian Penson, B.A., Ph.D.
Professor William Rees, M.A., D.Sc.
Professor F. M. Powicke, M.A., Litt.D., F.B.A., *President.*
Hubert Hall, Litt.D., F.S.A., *Director.*
M. S. Giuseppi, I.S.O., F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer.*
Professor H. Hale Bellot, M.A., *Hon. Secretary.*

LIST OF FELLOWS OF THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Names of Officers and Members of Council are printed in SMALL CAPITALS. *Those marked * have compounded for their Annual Subscriptions.*

* Abbott, Rev. H. A., M.A., L.C.P., Palmer's School, Grays, Essex.
Adair, E. R., M.A., McGill University, Montreal, Canada.
Adler, E. N., 20 Porchester Square, W.2.
Ady, Miss C. M., M.A., 40 St. Margaret's Road, Oxford.
Ahmad, Mohammad Basheer, M.A., I.C.S., Fitzwilliam House, Cambridge.
Ainley, Rev. B. S., B.A., Norwell Vicarage, Newark-on-Trent.
Aiyangar, Professor S. K., M.A., Ph.D., 143 Brodie's Road, Mylapore, Madras, India.
Albion, Rev. Gordon, D.Sc. (Louvain), St. John's Seminary, Wonersh, Guildford.
Allen, B. M., M.A., 345 St. Ermin's, Westminster, S.W.1.
Altamira y Crevea, Professor R., Lagasca 105, Madrid, Spain.
Anderson, A. K., M.A., The Scots College, Sydney, New South Wales, Australia.
Anderson, Professor F. M., M.A., Dartmouth College, Hanover, N.H., U.S.A.
* Anderson, R. C., M.A., Basset Holt, Southampton.
* Andrews, F. B., F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A., 29 Greenhill Road, Moseley, Birmingham.
Andrews, Rev. P. J., 63 Tufton Street, S.W.1.
Armstrong, C. A. J., B.A., Hertford College, Oxford.
Artz, Professor F. B., Ph.D., 131 Forest Street, Oberlin, Ohio, U.S.A.
Arundale, The Right Rev. G. S., M.A., LL.B., D.L., 10 Buckingham Street, Buckingham Gate, S.W.1.
Ashdown, Mrs. Charles H., The Green, Kirby Moorside, Yorks.
* ASPINALL, A., M.A., Ph.D., 33 Grosvenor Road, Caversham, nr. Reading.
Atiya, Aziz Suryal, M.A., Ph.D., 7 Lemon Grove, Sefton Park, Liverpool.
Atkinson, C. T., M.A., Exeter College, Oxford.
Atkinson, Professor D., M.A., F.S.A., 28 Queens Road, West Didsbury, Manchester.
Attlee, Rev. B. H. B., D.D., St. Cross Vicarage, Holywell, Oxford.
* Auden, Miss Henrietta M., Alderdene, Church Stretton, Salop.

Bagshawe, T. W., F.S.A., Hill Wood, Dagnall, nr. Berkhamstead.
Baker, Lieut.-Colonel B. G., J.P., D.S.O., F.R.G.S., St. Mary's Road, Beccles, Suffolk.
Baker, G. P., 50 Great Russell Street, W.C.1.
Baldwin, Professor J. F., Ph.D., Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N.Y., U.S.A.
Bales, P. G., M.C., M.A., 4 Bass Terrace, Thorne Road, Doncaster.

Balfour-Melville, E. W. M., M.A., 2 South Learmonth Gardens, Edinburgh.
Balkrishna, Professor, M.A., Ph.D., Rajaram College, Kolhapur, India.
Banks, Mrs. M. M., 16 Hornton Court, Hornton Street, W.8.
Barnard, E. A. B., M.A., F.S.A., 26 Warkworth Street, Cambridge.
Barnes, Professor D. G., M.A., Ph.D., Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio, U.S.A.
Barnes, Professor Viola F., M.A., Ph.D., Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass., U.S.A.
* Bartolo, Professor the Hon. Sir Augusto, LL.D., B.Litt., 55 Strada Teatro, Valletta, Malta.
Barton, The Right Hon. Sir D. Plunket, K.C., 2 Gray's Inn Square, W.C.1.
Baskerville, G., M.A., Crowsley Park, Henley-on-Thames.
Bate, G. E., 55 Harvard Road, Spring Grove, Isleworth, Middlesex.
* Bayley, A. R., B.A., Cotford, Graham Road, Great Malvern.
Bazeley, Miss M. L., M.A., B.D., 113 North Side, S.W.4.
Beardwood, Miss Alice, B.A., B.Litt., D.Phil., 802 North 24th Street, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.
Beazley, Professor Sir Raymond, J.P., D.Litt., 6 Arthur Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham.
Beer, E. S. de, M.A., 11 Sussex Place, N.W.1.
* Beet, Rev. W. E., M.A., D.Litt., Charisma, Castle Road, Saltwood, Hythe.
Begley, W. W., 30 Rylandes Road, Croham Heights, Selsdon, Surrey.
Behrens, Miss C. B. A., B.A., Bailey Hill, Denham, Bucks.
* Bell, Lieut.-Commander A. C., R.N., The Hermitage, Church Street, Epsom.
Bell, Professor Herbert C., Ph.D., 22 Wyllys Street, Middletown, Conn., U.S.A.
Beller, E. A., D.Phil., 15 Alexander Street, Princeton, N.J., U.S.A.
Bellot, Professor H. H., M.A. (*Hon. Secretary*), 9 Well Walk, N.W.3.
Bemis, Professor S. F., A.M., Ph.D., Yale University, New Haven, Conn., U.S.A.
Benham, Sir W. Gurney, F.S.A., The Oaks, 19 Lexden Road, Colchester.
Benjamin, Professor G. G., M.A., Ph.D., University of South California, University Park, Los Angeles, Cal., U.S.A.
Benns, Professor F. Lee, Ph.D., 320 North Jordan Avenue, Bloomington, Indiana, U.S.A.
Bentliff, E. D., M.A., 34 Princes Avenue, Great Crosby, nr. Liverpool.
Bère, Professor R. de la., M.A., R.A.F. College, Cranwell, Lincs.
Berkeley, G. F. H., J.P., B.A., Hanwell Castle, Banbury.
Betts, Professor R. R., B.A., University College, Southampton.
Beveridge, Sir William H., K.C.B., LL.D., B.C.L., London School of Economics. Houghton Street, Kingsway, W.C.2.
Billingham, P. H., B.A., B.Litt., Ardenoak, Solihull, Warwickshire.
Bing, H. F., M.A., The Folk House, College Green, Bristol, 1.
* Binns, Rev. L. Elliott, M.A., D.D., Brook House, Cambridge.
Birch, F. L., M.A., 11 Montpelier Row, S.W.7.
Black, Professor J. B., M.A., The University, Aberdeen.
Blake, A. H., M.A., Authors' Club, 2 Whitehall Court, S.W.1.
* Blakey, Professor R. G., Ph.D., University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn., U.S.A.

* Blomfield, Sir Reginald, R.A., M.A., D.Litt., F.S.A., 51 Frognal, N.W.3.
Boak, Professor E. R., Ph.D., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich., U.S.A.
Boase, T. S. R., M.A., Hertford College, Oxford.
Bolam, Rev. Canon C. E., Willoughby Rectory, Alford, Lincs.
Bond, Professor B. W., Ph.D., University of Cincinnati, McMicken Hall, Cincinnati, Ohio, U.S.A.
Bourdillon, Miss A. F. C., M.A., Barnett House, Oxford.
Bourne, Professor H. E., Ph.D., 2504 Derbyshire Road, Cleveland Heights, Ohio., U.S.A.
Boyd, Allen R., Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
Bracey, The Very Rev. R., St. Dominic's Priory, Carisbrooke, Isle of Wight.
Bradyll-Johnson, Rev. L., M.A., D.D., St. Clement's Rectory, Oxford.
* Brebner, Professor J. B., M.A., B.Litt., Ph.D., Columbia University, New York City, N.Y., U.S.A.
Brendon, J. A., B.A., England's Side, Queen Camel, Somerset.
Bridge, J. S. C., Cookley House, Henley-on-Thames.
Brinton, Crane, B.A., D.Phil., J24 Dunster House, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
* Brocklebank, Mrs. T., 38 Cornwall Gardens, S.W.7.
Brodie, Miss D. M., B.A., Ph.D., 3 Amersham Road, S.W.15.
Brogan, D. W., M.A., Kybald Twychen, Kybald Street, Oxford.
Brooke, Z. N., M.A., Litt.D., Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.
Brooks, F. W., M.A., University College, Hull.
Broome, Miss D. M., Ph.D., 37 Ashburn Road, Stockport.
*Brown, A. E., M.A., LL.B., Brooklyn, Cherry Hinton Road, Cambridge.
Brown, B. Goulding, M.A., 16 Brookside, Cambridge.
Brown, Rev. G. K., B.A., Ph.D., D.Litt., 64 Brantfell Road, Blackburn.
Brown, Professor Louise F., Ph.D., Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N.Y., U.S.A.
Brown, W. E., M.A., B.Sc., 53 South Park Avenue, Glasgow.
Browning, Professor Andrew, M.A., Westdel, Queen's Place, Glasgow, W.2.
Bryant, A. W. M., M.A., The White House, East Claydon, Bucks.
Buckland, C. S. B., M.A., D.Litt., 16 Downside Crescent, N.W.3.
Buckland, Professor W. W., LL.D., D.C.L., F.B.A., 9 Grange Road, Cambridge.
Buckler, Professor F. W., M.A., The Graduate School of Theology, Oberlin, Ohio, U.S.A.
Buick, T. L., J.P., C.M.G., 5 Boston Terrace, Wellington, New Zealand.
Bullock, Major Humphry, Headquarters Northern Command, Rawalpindi, India.
Burleigh, Rev. Professor J. H. S., B.D., The University, Edinburgh.
Burman, J., Westbrook, Solihull Road, Shirley, Warwickshire.
Bury, J. P. T., M.A., Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.
* Busher, Rev. T. Story, D.D., M.A., The Rectory, Charlton-on-Otmoor, Oxford.
Bushnell, G. H., M.R.A.S., F.S.P., University Library, St. Andrew's, Fife.

Butchers, A. G., M.A., LL.B., Litt.D., 18 Wilford Street, Lower Hutt, Wellington, New Zealand.
Butler, H. M., M.A., Queen Mary's School, Walsall.
Butler, J. R. M., M.V.O., O.B.E., M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge.
Butler, Wilson, M.A., LL.M., Glebelands, Broughton-in Furness.
Butt-Thompson, Captain F. W., 43, Danecourt Road, Parkstone, Dorset.
Butterfield, Mrs., M.A., Congreve Park, Spanish Town, P.O., Jamaica, B.W.I.

* Callender, Professor G. A. R., M.A., F.S.A., Royal Maritime Museum, Greenwich, S.E.10.
Calthrop, Miss M. M. C., 26 Maitland Park Road, N.W.3.
* Cam, Miss H. M., M.A., Girton College, Cambridge.
Cameron, Miss A. I., M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt., 25 Thorburn Road, Colinton, Midlothian.
Cameron, Miss J., B.A., 103 St. George's Road, S.W.1.
Cammaerts, Professor Emile, Quadrant House, Pall Mall, S.W.1.
* Campbell, Miss A. M., A.M., Ph.D., New Jersey College for Women, New Brunswick, N.J., U.S.A.
Campbell, Miss Sybil, M.A., 2 Brick Court, Temple, E.C.4.
Cape, H. J., M.A., B.Sc., Royal Grammar School, Colchester.
* Carlyle, E. I., M.A., Lincoln College, Oxford.
Carrier, Miss E. H., M.A., M.Sc., Avery Hill College, Eltham, S.E.9.
Carruthers, Mrs. C. H., 8 Gower Street, W.C.1.
Carter, Professor C. E., Ph.D., Department of State, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
* Carter, Rev. C. S., D.D., Clifton Theological College, Stoke Bishop, Bristol.
Cartlidge, Rev. S. E. G., The Vicarage, Oakengates, Salop.
* Cecil, Algernon, M.A., 43 Bryanston Square, W.1.
Chacko, C. J., M.A., Ph.D., Ewing Hall, Forman Christian College, Lahore, Punjab, India.
Chamberlin, Frederick, LL.B., F.S.A., 22 Alleyn Road, S.E.21.
Chambers, Miss A. M., Girls' Grammar School, Hitchin.
* Chance, J. F., M.A., 30 Lennox Gardens, S.W.1.
* Chancellor, E. Beresford, M.A., F.S.A., Abancourt Hotel, Harrington Gardens, S.W.7.
Chandler, P. W., F.S.A. (*Auditor*), Frognal Dene, N.W.3.
Chapin, H. M., A.B., 93 Brown Street, Providence, R.I., U.S.A.
* Charleston, Lektor S. J., M.A., Handelshögskolan, Sveavägen, 65, Stockholm, Sweden.
Charnwood, Lord, M.A., D.L., 108 Eaton Square, S.W.1.
* Chart, D. A., I.S.O., Litt.D., 35 Sans Souci Park, Belfast.
Cheney, C. R., M.A., The Victoria University, Manchester.
Chew, Miss H. M., M.A., Ph.D., 115 Erskine Hill, N.W.11.
Chitty, Herbert, M.A., F.S.A., 26 Ladbroke Square, W.11.
Chrimes, S. B., M.A., Ph.D., The University, Glasgow.
* Christie, Mrs., Gatlands, Ditchling, Sussex.
Church, Rev. L. F., B.A., Ph.D., Helvellyn, 63 Higher Drive, Banstead, Surrey.

Churchill, E. F., M.A., D.Lit., West Ham Municipal Secondary School, Tennyson Road, E.15.
Churchill, Miss I. J., D.Phil., F.S.A., 22 May's Hill Road, Shortlands, Kent.
Churchill, The Right Hon. Winston S., Chartwell, Westerham, Kent.
Clapham, Professor J. H., C.B.E., Litt.D., F.B.A., King's College, Cambridge.
Clark, A. E., M.A., 304 Birmingham Road, Walsall.
Clark, C. Upson, Ph.D., Yale Club, New York City, N.Y., U.S.A.
Clark, Professor G. N., M.A., All Souls College, Oxford.
Clark, G. S. R. Kitson, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge.
Clark, Rev. Henry W., D.D., St. John's School, Broxbourne, Herts.
Clarke, Professor F., M.A., 1 Upton Leeze, London Road, S.E.23.
Clay, C. T., M.A., F.S.A., 11 Tite Street, S.W.3.
Clayton, J., Littleworth, Campden, Glos.
Clegg, Mrs., B.A., Branscombe, Avondale Road, Heavitree, Exeter.
Clements, E. E., Greenways, Fairfield Park, Bath.
Cleve, Professor T. C. Van, M.A., Ph.D., Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine, U.S.A.
Coate, Miss M., M.A., Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford.
Cobb, Sir Cyril Stephen, B.C.L., M.A., F.R.G.S., 5 Cornwall Terrace, N.W.1.
* Cockburn, J. H., O.B.E., Danes Hill, Rotherham.
Cockle, M. J. D., Wheatfen Broad, Surlingham, Norwich.
* Code, Rev. J. B., M.A., S.T.B., Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
Colby, Professor C. W., M.A., Ph.D., 560 Pine Avenue, W. Montreal, Canada.
Collingwood, Professor R. G., M.A., F.B.A., F.S.A., 15 Belbroughton Road, Oxford.
Collins, Professor Ross W., M.A., B.D., Ph.D., University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada.
Cooper, W., F.S.A., Lulworth Court, Leamington Spa.
Coopland, Professor G. W., M.A., Litt.D., 6 Bark Hill Road, Aigburth, Liverpool.
Cope, J. H., Finchampstead Place, Wokingham, Berks.
* Cornelius, Rev. W. J. J., B.D., D.Litt., All Saints' Vicarage, North Peckham, S.E.15.
Corson, J. C., M.A., Ph.D., 11 Eyre Crescent, Edinburgh.
Coupland, Professor R., M.A., Wootton Hill, near Oxford.
* Crawley, C. W., M.A., Trinity Hall, Cambridge.
Cronne, H. A., M.A., 101 Fellows Road, N.W.3.
Cross, Professor A. L., Ph.D., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich., U.S.A.
Cruttwell, C. R., M.A., Hertford College, Oxford.
Cundall, F., O.B.E., F.S.A., Barnsil, Kingston, Jamaica, W. Indies.
Cunningham, Miss A., M.A., 2 St. Paul's Road, Cambridge.
Curtis, C. D., Sundial House, 111 Queen's Road, Brighton, 1.

Darlington, R. R., B.A., Ph.D., Bedford College, Regent's Park, N.W.1.
* Darwin, F. D. S., M.A., 86A Banbury Road, Oxford.

Das, Harihar, B.Litt., Sidhipasa, Jessore, Khulna, Bengal, India.
David, Professor C. W., Ph.D., Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa., U.S.A.
Davies, C. C., B.A., Ph.D., School of Oriental Studies, Finsbury Circus, E.C.
* Davies, G., M.A., Huntington Library, San Marino, Cal., U.S.A.
Davies, Miss A. F., M.A., 8 Bradmore Road, Oxford.
Davies, Rev. R. T., M.A., 9 Manor Road, Holywell, Oxford.
Davies, W. S., M.A., 36 Gwydr Crescent, Swansea.
Davies, W. T., B.A., Glanwern, Clasemont, Morriston, Swansea.
* Davis, Miss E. Jeffries, M.A., F.S.A., University College, Gower Street, W.C.1.
Dawes, M. C. B., B.A., F.S.A., 18 Ormonde Mansions, 106 Southampton Row, W.C.1.
Dawson, Christopher, M.A., Hartlington Hall, Skipton, Yorks.
* Day, P. W., M.A., 2 Rectory Terrace, Gosforth, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
Day, W. I. Leeson, Cawsend, Holsworthy, Devon.
Deanesley, Miss M., M.A., 197 Clarence Gate Gardens, N.W.1.
Denholm-Young, N., M.A., Magdalen College, Oxford.
* Denny, L. R. R., M.A., 28 St. Andrew's Terrace, Strowan, Christchurch, New Zealand.
Dickie, Professor A. C., M.A., F.S.A., Long Crendon, Bucks.
Dilks, T. B., B.A., East Gate, Bridgwater.
Dobrée, Professor Bonamy, O.B.E., M.A., The University, Leeds.
Dodd, Professor A. H., M.A., 12 Menai View Terrace, Upper Bangor.
Dodwell, Professor H. H., M.A., School of Oriental Studies, Finsbury Circus, E.C.2.
Doncaster, J. H., M.A., Wag Wood, Dore, Sheffield.
Dorling, Captain H. T., R.N. (retd.), D.S.O., Marlings, Pembroke Road, Woking.
Dormer, E. W., 15 Church Road, Earley, Reading.
Doubleday, H. A., 2 Dungarvan Avenue, S.W.15.
Douglas, Professor D. C., B.A., University College, Exeter.
Douie, Miss D. L., B.A., Ph.D., 13 South Bailey, Durham.
Dow, Professor E. W., Ph.D., 554 Thompson Street, Ann Arbor, Mich., U.S.A.
Dudden, Rev. Canon F. H., M.A., D.D., The Master's Lodgings, Pembroke College, Oxford.
Duncalf, Professor F. I., Ph.D., University of Texas, Austin, Texas, U.S.A.
Duncan, Professor D. Shaw, Ph.D., LL.D., 2255 South Columbine Street, Denver, Col., U.S.A.
* Durham, The Right Rev. the Bishop of, D.D., F.S.A., Auckland Castle, Bishop Auckland.
Dyer, Miss F. E., 108 Jerningham Road, S.E.14.
Dykes, Professor D. O., K.C., M.A., LL.B., 16 South Charlotte Street, Edinburgh.

Edmond, Miss D., B.Sc., 45 Hepworth Road, S.W.16.
Edwards, J. G., M.A., Jesus College, Oxford.
Edwards, N. F., 147 Queen's Court, Queen's Road, W.2.

Edwards, R. W. D., M.A., Ph.D., 53 Grosvenor Road, Dublin, S.W.4.
Edwards, Major T. J., Room 123, The War Office, Whitehall, S.W.1.
Elliott, C. A., M.A., The Cloisters, Eton College, Windsor.
*Elliott, T. C., A.B., Walla Walla, Washington, U.S.A. (P.O. Box 775).
Ellis, A. C., M.A., St. Albans, Chelston, Torquay.
Ellis, C., M.A., 14 Dudley Road, S.W.19.
Emden, C. S., M.A., Oriel College, Oxford.
* Ettinger, A. A., M.A., D.Phil., Litt.D., 1114 Hamilton Street, Allentown, Pa., U.S.A.
Evans, Miss A. M., M.A., Normal College, Bangor.
Evans, Miss E., M.A., B.Litt., Somerville College, Oxford.
Evans, Miss Joan, D.Lit., F.S.A., 9 Kensington Park Gardens, W.11.
Evans, Rev. J. H., B.A., Croxton Kerrial Vicarage, Grantham.
Evans, T., M.A., County School, Cardigan.
Evennett, H. O., M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge.
* Ezard, Edward Henry, M.A., M.D., Clare Cottage, Castle Street, Cambridge.

Fagan, Sir Patrick, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., 73 Canfield Gardens, N.W.6.
* Farquhar, Miss Helen, 6 Lowndes Street, S.W.1.
Farran, Professor A. C., M.A., Kharnatak College, Dharwar, India.
Fasnacht, Mrs. G. E., B.A., 69 Stoughton Road, Oadby, Leicester.
* Fawcett, Sir Charles, I.C.S. (retired), 27 The Grove, Boltons, S.W.10.
* Fay, C. R., M.A., Christ's College, Cambridge.
Fay, Professor S. B., Ph.D., 194 Brattle Street, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
Feavearyear, A. E., D.Sc., 48 Cheviot Road, S.E.27.
Fenwick, Miss Susan F., 64 Kensington Park Road, W.11.
Ferris, C. E., Dunelm School, c/o Messrs. MacGibbon, Mason & Co., Hereford Street (City), Christchurch, New Zealand.
* Fiddes, Professor E., M.A., LL.D., 173 Wilmslow Road, Withington, Manchester.
Fifoot, C. H. S., M.A., Hertford College, Oxford.
* Fletcher, Rev. A. W., M.A., LL.B., Repton Vicarage, Derby.
Fletcher, Rev. Canon J. M. J., M.A., 59 The Close, Salisbury.
Flower, R. E. W., B.A., D.Litt., F.B.A., 14 Wellesley Grove, Croydon, Surrey.
* Ford, Worthington C., Ph.D., c/o Morgan & Co., 14 Place Vendôme, Paris, France.
Formoy, Mrs. B. E. H., M.A., 12 Middleway, N.W.11.
* Fotheringham, J. K., M.A., D.Litt., F.B.A., Dumbarrow, Hids Copse Road, Cumnor, Oxford.
* Fountaine, Mrs. R. W., Pollicott, Thame, Oxon.
Fowler, G. H., C.B.E., B.A., Ph.D., The Old House, Aspley Guise, Beds.
Frampton, R., B.A., Oaklands, 15 Richmond Hill Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham.
* Free, Rev. Richard W., M.A., B.D., 132 Westminster Drive, Westcliff.
* Freeman, Arnold, M.A., B.Litt., Sheffield Education Settlement, Shipton Street, Sheffield.
Freeman, J. J., C.B.E., Shepperton-on-Thames.

French, Colonel C. N., C.M.G., C.B.E., 19 Knightsbridge, S.W.1.
* Fryer, Professor C. E., M.A., Ph.D., McGill University, Montreal, Canada.
Furber, H., M.A., Ph.D., E 11 Lowell House, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
Fussell, G. E., 6 Tavistock Place, W.C.1.

Galbraith, V. H., M.A., 1 Garford Road, Oxford.
Garrett, Professor H. L. O., M.A., I.E.S., c/o Messrs. Grindley & Co., 54 Parliament Street, S.W.1.
Gay, Professor E. F., Ph.D., LL.D., Litt.D., 1520 Circle Drive, San Marino, Cal., U.S.A.
Gee, The Very Rev. Henry, D.D., Litt.D., F.S.A., The Deanery, Gloucester.
George, Mrs., M.A., Litt.D., 51 Paulton's Square, S.W.3.
George, R. H., A.M., Ph.D., Brown University, Providence, R.I., U.S.A.
Geyl, Professor Pieter, Litt.D., Willem Barentzstraat 5, Utrecht, Holland.
Gibson, Strickland, M.A., 34 Hill Top Road, Oxford.
* Ghatak, Professor Jyotish Chandra, M.A., 4 Boloram Bose Ghat Road, Bhowanipur, Calcutta, India.
Gill, Professor C., M.A., Litt.D., Chestnut Lodge, Cottingham, E. Yorks.
Gipson, Professor L. H., Ph.D., Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pa., U.S.A.
* Giuseppi, M. S., I.S.O., F.S.A. (*Hon. Treasurer*), 72 Burlington Avenue, Kew Gardens, Surrey.
Glendon, E. T., M.A., Burwell, Cambs.
Gnana Viran, S. S., 70 Phayre Street, Rangoon, Burma.
Godley, The Hon. Eveline, Durrant's Court, High Halden, Kent.
Goldthorp, L. M., M.A., Fulneck Boys' School, nr. Leeds.
* Gooch, G. P., M.A., D.Litt., F.B.A., 76 Campden Hill Road, W.8.
Goodman, Mrs. A. W., Dormy Cottage, 49 S. Cross Road, Winchester.
Goodman, Rev. Canon A. W., M.A., B.D., F.S.A., Dormy Cottage, 49 S. Cross Road, Winchester.
Goodman, Paul, 10 The Ridgeway, N.W.11.
Goodwin, A., M.A., Jesus College, Oxford.
Gotch, J. A., M.A., F.S.A., Weekley Rise, Kettering.
Grace, Miss M., M.A., The Laurels, Newick, Lewes.
Grace, W. F. F., M.A., Ph.D., Thornfield, Huyton, nr. Liverpool.
Graham, G. S., M.A., Ph.D., Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada.
* Graham, Miss Rose, M.A., D.Litt., F.S.A., 12 Ladbroke Gardens, W.11.
Graham, Rev. W., M.A., L.Th., c/o The English Church, Las Palmas, Canary Islands.
Graham-Dow, Mrs., M.A., Ph.D., 8 Queen Margaret Road, Glasgow, N.W.1.
Grant, Professor A. J., M.A., Litt.D., 17 Gurney Drive, N.2.
Graves, Miss F. M., 10 Barton Street, S.W.1.
Greaves, J. W., M.A., Sydney High School, Moore Park, Sydney, Australia.
Green, D. Walford, M.A., Lendrick, Bishop's Teignton, S. Devon.
* Greene, C. H., M.A., Incents, Beacon Road, Crowborough, Sussex.
Gregory, M. V., M.A., Dorny, Adamthwaite Drive, Blythe Bridge, Stoke-on-Trent.
Grew, Mrs. M. E., 47 Oakley Street, S.W.3.

Grime, Rev. A., M.A., Ph.D., Lyndhurst, 63 Rawson Street, Farnworth, Bolton.
* Grimes, Rev. C. H. D., M.A., Jaurès Gasse 10, Vienna, III Austria.
* Griscom, Rev. Acton, M.A., 25 Sixth Street, North Pelham, N.Y., U.S.A.
Guedalla, Philip, M.A., 5 Hyde Park Street, W.2.
Guilday, Rev. Peter, Ph.D., LL.D., Catholic University of America, Brookland, D.C., U.S.A.
Gumbley, Rev. W., O.P., Blackfriars, Oxford.
* Gun, W. T. J., B.A., 55 Wetherby Mansions, S.W.5.
Gwynn, D. R., B.A., D.Litt., 3 Queen's Terrace, Windsor.

Haig, Lieut.-Colonel Sir T. Wolseley, 34 Gledstanes Road, W.14.
* Hall, C. S., M.A., Heathfield, 3 Queen's Road, Bradford, Yorks.
Hall, Hubert, Litt.D., F.S.A. (*Director*), 26 Old Buildings, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.2.
Hall, I. V., M.A., 148 Fishponds Road, Bristol.
Hall, D. G. E., M.A., D.Lit., Caterham School, Surrey.
* Hall, T. W., M.A., F.S.A., 6 Gladstone Road, Sheffield.
Halliday, W. R., M.A., LL.D., King's College, Strand, W.C.2.
Hampson, Miss E. M., M.A., Ph.D., Newnham College, Cambridge.
Hancock, The Ven. Archdeacon L. R., M.A., The Rectory, Whatley, Frome, Som.
Hancock, Professor W. K., M.A., The University, Edmund Street, Birmingham.
Hannay, Professor R. K., M.A., LL.D., 5 Royal Terrace, Edinburgh.
Harding, W. G., F.S.A., Peckwater House, Charing, Kent.
Harley, J. H., M.A., 59 Parliament Hill, N.W.3.
Harlow, V. T., M.A., B.Litt., The Firs, Old Marston, Oxford.
* Harris, Sir Charles A., K.C.M.G., C.B., C.V.O., Greenhill Brow, Farnham, Surrey.
Harrison, G. B., M.A., Ph.D., Birchanger, nr. Bishops Stortford.
Hartopp, Henry, 81 Barclay Street, Narborough Road, Leicester.
Harvey, Professor E. L., M.A., Egyptian University, Giza, Cairo, Egypt.
Hasluck, E. L., B.A., Heathfield, Western Avenue, Herne Bay.
Hattersley, Professor A. F., M.A., 10 The Avenue, Filey, Yorks.
* Havinden, Eric, M.A., 30 Park Avenue, Solihull, Warwickshire.
Hayden, Professor Mary T., M.A., 26 Cambridge Road, Upper Rathmines, Dublin.
Hazeltine, Professor H. D., M.A., F.B.A., West Lodge, Downing College, Cambridge.
Hazen, Professor C. D., Ph.D., Columbia University, New York City, N.Y., U.S.A.
* Hearnshaw, Professor F. J. C., M.A., LL.D., Litt.D., Hammerwood, Oxted, Surrey.
Heathcote, C. W., A.M., Ph.D., State Normal School, 215 South Walnut Street, West Chester, Pa., U.S.A.
Heatley, D. P., M.A., 28 Minto Street, Edinburgh.
Heaton, Professor H., M.A., D.Litt., University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn., U.S.A.
Hemmant, Miss M., B.A., Ph.D., The Lodge, Sevenoaks.

Henderson, J. M., M.A., King's College, Aberdeen.
Hepburn, E., 111 Main Road, Sidcup, Kent.
* Higham, C. S. S., M.A., 16 Leopold Road, S.W.19.
Hill, J. W. F., M.A., LL.M., 2 Lindum Terrace, Lincoln.
Hill, Lady, Green Place, Stockbridge, Hants.
Hine, R. L., F.S.A., Willian Bury, Willian, Herts.
Hodges, H. W., M.A., Royal Naval College, Dartmouth.
* Hodgkin, R. H., M.A., The Queen's College, Oxford.
Hoggarth, A. H. G., M.A., Churcher's College, Petersfield.
* Hollingsworth, L. W., B.A., Education Dept., Zanzibar, E. Africa.
Holt, Miss A. D., 47 Bramham Gardens, S.W.5.
Hood, Mrs. Ivo, Sidestrand, Cromer.
* Horn, D. B., M.A., D.Litt., 67 Ladysmith Road, Edinburgh.
Horne, Rev. W., The Vicarage, Lower Darwen, Lancs.
Horváth, Professor Eugene, Phil.D., II, Ilona útca 4, Francis Joseph Institute, Budapest, Hungary.
Hoskins, H. L., Ph.D., Tufts College, Medford, Mass., U.S.A.
Hoult, James, F.S.A. (Scot.), 12 Brookland Road, Stoneycroft, Liverpool.
Houseman, J. W., M.A., The Grammar School, Hipperholme, Yorks.
* Howard-Watson, Captain J. A., F.R.G.S., F.R.S.L., Bella Vista, Nicholas Road, Blundellsands, near Liverpool.
Howay, His Honour F. W., LL.D., Law Courts, New Westminster, British Columbia, Canada.
Howden, Miss M. P., M.A., 17c Huskisson Street, Liverpool.
Hoyland, J. S., M.A., Holland House, Woodbrooke, Selly Oak, Birmingham.
Hudson, G. F., M.A., All Souls College, Oxford.
Hull, Professor W. I., Ph.D., Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa., U.S.A.
Hulme, H., Ph.D., New York University, Washington Square East, New York City, U.S.A.
Hunt, R. N. Carew, B.A., B.Litt., 3c Carlisle Place, S.W.1.
* Hyamson, A. M., 32 Teignmouth Road, N.W.2.
Hyde, F. E., M.A., Ph.D., The University, Liverpool.
Hyde, H. M., M.A., 32 Roland Gardens, S.W.7.
* Hyde, J. H., B.A., 18 Rue Adolphe Yvon, Paris, XVI^e, France.
Hyslop, R., F.S.A. (Scot.), Field House, Hylton, Sunderland.

* Ilchester, The Right Hon. the Earl of, Holland House, Kensington, W.8.
Irwin, Miss M. G., M.A., 7 The Butts, Harrow-on-the-Hill.
Ivamy, E., M.A., Redesdale, The Park, Cheltenham.

Jackson, H. S., 165 New Park Road, S.W.2.
* Jackson, Mrs. Nevill, 55 Bedford Gardens, W.8.
Jackson, Rev. Canon F. J. Foakes, D.D., Union Theological Seminary, New York City, N.Y., U.S.A.
Jacob, Professor E. F., M.A., D.Phil., F.S.A., The Victoria University, Manchester.
James, Miss M., M.A., 5 Arboretum Street, Nottingham.
Jamison, Miss E. M., M.A., Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford.
Jenkins, R. T., M.A., Rhuddallt, Menai Road, Bangor.
Jenkins, Rev. Canon Claude, D.D., F.S.A., Christ Church, Oxford.

Jenkinson, Hilary, M.A., F.S.A., 29 Cheyne Row, S.W.3.
Jessop, J. C., M.A., Ph.D., Beacon Hill, Lossiemouth, Scotland.
* Johnson, C., M.A., F.B.A., F.S.A., 13A Downshire Hill, N.W.3.
Johnson, J. D. A., LL.D., F.R.S.A. (Irel.), 5 Elton Park, Kingstown, Co. Dublin.
Johnson J. H., M.A., Whitehorns, Cedar Avenue, Chelmsford.
Johnston, D. Hope, M.A., J.P., 1A Regent's Court, Park Road, N.W.1.
Johnston, Rev. J. B., M.A., B.D., 63 Cluny Gardens, Edinburgh.
Johnston, Miss K. L., M.A., 33 Kingswood Avenue, N.W.6.
Johnstone, Professor Hilda, M.A., Holly Cottage, Englefield Green, Surrey.
Johnstone, The Ven. Archdeacon S. M., M.A., F.S.A.(Scot.), St. John's Rectory, Parramatta, New South Wales, Australia.
Jolliffe, J. E., M.A., Keble College, Oxford.
Jones, A. E., M.A., 6 Primrose Drive, Gilstead, Bingley.
Jones, E. Alfred, M.A., F.S.A., Royal Societies Club, St. James's Street, S.W.1.
* Jones, G. P., M.A., 6 Caxton Road, Sheffield, 10.
* Jones, Miss M. E. Monckton, M.A., Green Shade, Crowthorne, Berks.
Jones, Professor T. F., Ph.D., New York University, University Heights, New York, U.S.A.
Jones, W. G., M.A., The Hollies, 16 Ashville Road, Birkenhead.
Jordan, W. K., A.B., A.M., Ph.D., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
Jourdan, Rev. Professor G. V., D.D., S. Mary Shandon Rectory, Cork.
Judges, A. V., B.A., 52 The Green, Kew, Surrey.

* Kay, H., M.A., Rivington, Palmerston Road, Buckhurst Hill, Essex.
Keenleyside, H. W., M.A., Ph.D., Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada.
Kellogg, Miss L. P., Ph.D., Litt.D., The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis., U.S.A.
Kelly, Rev. B. W., Corpus Christi House, 12 Trent Road, S.W.2.
Kelway, Clifton, F.R.G.S., 57 Warwick Square, S.W.1.
Kennedy, W. J. Rann, M.A., Hughenden Cottage, Hughenden, High Wycombe, Bucks.
Kenney, James F., M.A., Ph.D., The Public Archives, Ottawa, Canada.
Kerr, W. B., M.A., Ph.D., University of Buffalo, Buffalo, N.Y., U.S.A.
Ketelbey, Miss D. M., M.A., 5 St. Mary's Place, St. Andrew's, Fife.
*Khan, Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, B.A., Litt.D., The University, Allahabad, India.
Khanna, Kahan Chand, M.A., Ph.D., Government College, Lahore, Punjab, India.
King, Colonel E. J., C.M.G., M.A., D.L., The Old House, East Finchley, N.2.
Kingham, W. R., M.A., 37 Westbourne Gardens, W.2.
Kinloch, Rev. T. F., M.A., Morville Hall, Bridgnorth, Shropshire.
Kirkconnell, Professor Watson, M.A., F.R.G.S., Wesley College, Winnipeg, Canada.
* Kirkpatrick, F. A., M.A., 2 Thurloe Court, S.W.3.

Kitchener, E. E., M.A., 34 Coombe Road, Croydon, Surrey.
Klingberg, Professor F. J., A.B., A.M., Ph.D., 405 Hilgard Avenue, Los Angeles, Cal., U.S.A.
Knaplund, Professor Paul, Ph.D., University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis., U.S.A.
Knappen, M. M., Faculty Exchange, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
Knight, L. Stanley, M.A., The School House, Pengam, Glam.
Kohli, Sita Ram, M.A., Lhudiana Government College, Lhudiana, Punjab, India.
Krishnamachasi, T. M., H.H., The Maharajah's College, Trivandrum Travancore, S. India.
Krishnamurti, N. A., Tirumalai Lodge, Trivandrum, Travancore, S. India.
* Krofta, Professor Kamil, Dr. Phil., The University, Prague, Czecho-Slovakia.

Laistner, Professor M. L. W., M.A., 4 Boardman Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y., U.S.A.
La Monte, J. L., Ph.D., University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio, U.S.A.
Lanctot, G., Litt.D., The Public Archives, Ottawa, Canada.
Landon, L., 67 St. George's Square, S.W.1.
Langdon, Rev. E., B.D., 197 Great Cheetham Street, Higher Broughton, Manchester, 7.
* Langley, Rev. A. S., The Manse, Walsall Street, Wednesbury.
Langstone, Miss R. W., M.A., 30 Corser Street, Stourbridge.
Laprade, Professor W. T., Ph.D., 1108 Monmouth Avenue, Durham, N. Carolina, U.S.A.
Lapsley, G., M.A., Ph.D., Trinity College, Cambridge.
Larson, Professor L. M., Ph.D., LL.D., 315 Lincoln Hall, Urbana, Ill., U.S.A.
Law, Miss A., F.R.S.L., 135 Queen's Road, Blackburn.
Lees, Miss B. A., M.A., 8 Norham Road, Oxford.
Leftwich, B. R., M.B.E., 1 The Avenue, Barnet.
Lega-Weekes, Miss Ethel, Varnello, Topsham Road, Exeter.
Legg, L. G. Wickham, M.A., Foxcombe Rise, Boar's Hill, Oxford.
Lenanton, Mrs. C. M. A., Bride Hall, Ayot St. Lawrence, Welwyn, Herts.
* Lennard, R., M.A., Wadham College, Oxford.
* Leonard, Miss E. M., M.A., 13 Oakwood Court, W.14.
* Lepper, R. S., LL.M., Elsinore, Crawfordsburn, Co. Down.
Letts, M. H. I., F.S.A., 27 West Heath Drive, N.W.11.
Lewin, Evans, M.B.E., Royal Empire Society, Northumberland Avenue, W.C.2.
Lewis, Professor E. A., M.A., D.Sc., University College of Wales, Aberystwyth.
Lewis, N. B., M.A., Ph.D., 40 Westbourne Road, Sheffield, 10.
Lewis, T. H., M.A., Littleton, Lake Road West, Cardiff.
Leys, Mrs. K. K. M., M.A., St. Hilda's College, Oxford.
Liddell-Hart, Captain B. H., 60 Gloucester Place, W.1.
* Lipson, E., M.A., New College, Oxford.

Little, Andrew G., M.A., D.Litt., F.B.A., Risborough, Vine Court Road, Sevenoaks.
* Littler, Rev. H. D., M.A., Red Barns, Redcar.
* Lloyd, H. I., O.B.E., M.A., Civil Court, Basrah, Iraq.
* Lloyd, Professor Sir John, M.A., D.Litt., F.B.A., F.S.A., Gwaen Deg, Bangor.
Lock, Arthur B., Dulwich Road School, Kingstanding, Birmingham.
Lockitt, C. H., M.A., The Grammar School, Bungay, Suffolk.
* Longden, Rev. H. I., M.A., F.S.A., Heyford Rectory, Northampton.
Loomis, Professor Louise, Ph.D., Wells College, Aurora-on-Cayuga, New York, U.S.A.
Lovegrove, E. W., M.A., F.S.A., St. David's, Chipping Campden, Glos.
* Loyd, L. C., B.A., 25 Moore Street, S.W.3.
Lumb, Miss S. V., M.A., 364 Great Clowes Street, Higher Broughton, Salford, 7.
Lunt, Professor W. E., Ph.D., Haverford College, Haverford, Pa., U.S.A.
* Lybyer, Professor A. H., A.M., Ph.D., 1006 West Nevada Street, Urbana, Ill., U.S.A.
* Lydall, John French, M.A., LL.D., 37 John Street, Bedford Row, W.C.1.
Lyell, James P. R., J.P., B.Litt., Falkland, Boar's Hill, Oxford.

Macalister, Professor R. A. S., Litt.D., F.S.A., 18 Mount Eden Road, Dublin, S.W.1.
Macartney, C. A., 29 Chester Terrace, S.W.1.
Macdonald, Rev. A. J., M.A., D.D., St. Dunstan's Vestry, Fleet Street, E.C.4.
* McClellan, Professor George B., M.A., LL.D., 2424 California Street, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
McCoy, C., Eagle Dell, Ware Road, Hailey, Hertford.
McElroy, Professor R., M.A., LL.D., Ph.D., 78 Banbury Road, Oxford.
McFarlane, K. B., M.A., Magdalen College, Oxford.
McHaffie, W. H., M.A., Bow Central School, Coborn Street, E.3.
McIlwain, Professor C. H., Ph.D., LL.D., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
McKay, D. C., A.B., M.A., Ph.D., 232 Prospect Street, Belmont, Mass., U.S.A.
Mackie, Professor J. D., M.A., The University, Glasgow.
McKisack, Miss May, M.A., B.Litt., Somerville College, Oxford.
McLachlan, Rev. H., M.A., D.D., Summerville, Victoria Park, Manchester.
MacLaughlin, M. C., M.A., Overton Lea, Cheltenham.
McLaughlin, Professor A. C., A.M., LL.D., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
McLennan, Senator J. S., The Senate, Ottawa, Canada.
McMaster, Mrs. Ian, M.A., Eton College, Windsor.
McNamara, W. H., 29 Campbell Road, E.17.
McNulty, Rev. J., B.A., St. Francis of Assisi, Garston, Liverpool.
Macnutt, The Ven. Archdeacon F. R., M.A., Provost's House, Stoneygate, Leicester.
Magrath, C. J., O.B.E., D.Litt., 173 Rustlings Road, Sheffield.
Mainwaring, J., M.A., Lingwood, St. James' Road, Dudley.
Major, Miss E. H., C.B.E., M.A., LL.D., 1A Camp View, S.W.19.
Major, Miss K., B.A., B.Litt., Abbott's Manor, Holbeach, Lincs.

* Malden, Rev. E. E., M.A., M.B.E., The Vicarage, Amberley, North Canterbury, New Zealand.
Malden, The Very Rev. R. H., M.A., B.D., The Deanery, Wells.
Manning, B. L., M.A., Jesus College, Cambridge.
Manwaring, G. E., Silverwood, 117 Burdon Lane, Belmont, Surrey.
Marsh, Professor F. B., Ph.D., University of Texas, Austin, Texas, U.S.A.
Marshall, Miss D., M.A., Mill House, Bethersden, Kent.
Marshall, Professor R. L., M.A., LL.D., 1 College Avenue, Magee College, Londonderry.
* Marten, C. H. K., M.A., Waynflete House, Eton College, Windsor.
Martin, Miss E. C., M.A., Ph.D., Westfield College, Hampstead, N.W.3.
Martin, Thomas P., A.B., A.M., Ph.D., MSS. Dept., Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
Marvin, F. S., M.A., H.M.I., Pantiles, Welwyn Garden City, Herts.
* Mason, Rev. W. A. Parker, M.A., 11 Burford Road, Whalley Range, Manchester.
Mathew, Rev. A. G., M.A., Blackfriars, Oxford.
* Mathew, Rev. D. J., M.A., Litt.D., F.S.A., 1 Woburn Square, W.C.1.
Mathews, G. W., F.S.A., Monkswood, Spital Road, Spital, Cheshire.
Matthews, A. G., M.A., Farncote, Oxted, Surrey.
* Mathur, Tikait Narain, B.A., LL.B., 30/27 Chili-ent Road, Agra, U.P., India.
Mears, R. A. F., M.A., B.Litt., 12 Polstead Road, Oxford.
Medley, Professor D. J., M.A., Ashby, Tydehams, Newbury, Berks.
Medlicott, W. N., M.A., University College, Swansea.
Merriman, Professor Roger B., M.A., Master's Lodgings, Eliot House, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
Methley, Miss Violet M., 11 Lyndhurst Gardens, N.W.3.
Miller, W., M.A., F.B.A., British Archæological School, Rue Spensiopos, Athens, Greece.
* Mills, Colonel D. A., 29 Pembroke Road, W.8.
Montgomery, Mrs. I. A., M.A., Ph.D., 18 Northumberland Street, Edinburgh.
Moody, T. W., B.A., Ph.D., Queen's University, Belfast.
* Moor, Rev. Charles, M.A., D.D., F.S.A., 14 Lexham Gardens, W.8.
Moore, H. Stuart, F.S.A., 6 King's Bench Walk, Temple, E.C.4.
Moore, Miss M. F., M.A., Ph.D., 7 Rosslyn Terrace, Glasgow, W.1.
* Moorman, Mrs., B.A., 6 Church Square, Leighton Buzzard.
Moreton, Rev. H. A. V., B.A., D. ès Lettres (Besançon), Pencombe Rectory, Herefordshire.
* Morgan, Professor W. T., M.A., Ph.D., Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind., U.S.A.
* Morison, Professor J. L., M.A., D.Litt., Dilston Crossing, Corbridge, Northumberland.
Morley, T. H., B.Sc., 312 King's Road, Reading.
Morrah, D. M. M., M.A., 1 Gayton Crescent, N.W.3.
Morrell, W. P., M.A., D.Phil., 4 Alma Terrace, W.8.
Morris, Ernest, 24 Coventry Street, Leicester.
* Morris, Rev. Professor H. C. S., M.A., 28 The Close, Salisbury.
Morris, Professor W. A., Ph.D., University of California, Berkeley, Cal., U.S.A.
Mounfield, A., 34 Walton Road, Warrington.

* Muller, Professor J. A., Ph.D., 4 St. John's Road, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
Mumby, F. A., 135 Foxley Lane, Purley, Surrey.
Murray, Miss K. M. E., B.A., B.Litt., Rulewater, Kingsley Green, Haslemere.
Myres, Rev. M. W., D.D., Frodsham Vicarage, nr. Warrington.

Namier, Professor L. B., M.A., The Victoria University, Manchester.
Narayan, Brij., M.A., c/o Allahabad Bank, Ltd., Delhi, India.
* Nathan, Lt.-Col. The Right Hon. Sir Matthew, G.C.M.G., LL.D., The Manor House, West Coker, Yeovil.
* Neale, Professor J. E., M.A., University College, Gower Street, W.C.1.
Nef, Professor J. U., Ph.D., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
Neilson, Professor N., Ph.D., Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass., U.S.A.
Neve, Arthur H., 21 The Drive, Tonbridge.
Newhall, Professor R. A., Ph.D., Williams College, Williamstown, Mass., U.S.A.
Newton, Professor A. P., M.A., D.Lit., F.S.A., 99 Kingsley Way, N.2.
Nichols, J. F., M.C., M.A., Ph.D., F.S.A., 105 College Road, Isleworth, Middlesex.
* Nicholson, T. C., M.A., Strathmore, Wath-upon-Dearne, nr. Rotherham.
Nijhoff, Wouter, Lange Voorhout 9, The Hague, Holland.
Noakes, Miss J., Little Lindens, Linden Path, Leatherhead.
* Nunn, William, M.P., Ponsonby Hall, Calderbridge, Cumberland.

Oakley, T. P., Ph.D., 522 West 122nd Street, New York City, N.Y., U.S.A.
O'Brien, Rev. E. M., M.A., Ph.D., Chapel Road, Bankstown, Sydney, Australia.
O'Connell, Sir John R., M.A., LL.D., The Catholic Mission House, 1A Brondesbury Park, N.W.6.
Offer, Rev. C. J., M.A., Highmore Vicarage, Henley, Oxon.
* Oke, A. W., B.A., LL.M., F.S.A., 32 Denmark Villas, Hove, Sussex.
Oman, Professor Sir Charles, M.P., D.C.L., LL.D., F.S.A., F.B.A., Frewin Hall, Oxford,
* Osborn, J. Lee, Bevis, Liddington, near Swindon.
O'Sullivan, Professor Mary J. Donovan, M.A., Lisgorm, Galway, Ireland.
Owen, Hugh, M.A., F.S.A., Bryn Gwyn, Llangefni, Anglesey.
* Owen, Commander (retired), J. H., Orielton, Maidstone Road, Chatham.
Owen, Professor L. V. D., M.A., University College, Nottingham.
* Owen, R., Argraffdy Owen, Welshpool.
Owst, G. R., Litt.D., D.Lit., Ph.D., 11 Perceval Road, S.W.14.

Packard, Professor S. R., Ph.D., 85 Washington Avenue, Northampton, Mass., U.S.A.
Page, M. E., Fore Street, Bridgwater.
Page, Miss Frances M., M.A., Ph.D., 33 Billing Road, Northampton.
Pakeman, Professor S. A., M.C., M.A., University College, Colombo, Ceylon.
Pantin, W. A., M.A., F.S.A., Oriel College, Oxford.

Pares, R., M.A., All Souls College, Oxford.
Parker, Captain H., F.R.G.S., 2 Albemarle Street, W.1.
Parker, H. M. D., M.A., Magdalen College, Oxford.
* Parker, Colonel J. W. R., C.B., D.L., J.P., V.P.S.A., Brownsholme Hall, nr. Clitheroe, Lancs.
* Parker, L. N., F.R.A.M., 17 Prince of Wales Terrace, W.8.
Parsloe, C. G., B.A., 12 Sispara Gardens, S.W.18.
Passfield, The Right Hon. Lord, LL.B., Passfield Corner, Liphook, Hants.
Pearce, J. P., F.R.I.B.A., 21 Dale Street, Liverpool, 2.
Pearn, B. R., M.A., University College Rangoon, Burma.
* Pearson, Rev. A. F. Scott, D.Th., D.Litt., The Manse, Johnstone, Renfrewshire.
Peel, Rev. Albert, M.A., Litt.D., 97 Russell Road, Buckhurst Hill.
Peel, J. K., M.A., 6 Canterbury Terrace, Leicester.
Penn, C. D., M.A., 25 Henderson Road, S.W.18.
Penson, Professor Lillian M., Ph.D., 56 Witley Court, Coram Street, W.C.1.
Perkins, Rev. J. H. T., M.A., D.C.L., F.S.A., 5 Little Cloisters, Westminster Abbey, S.W.1.
Perroy, E. M. J., D.-ès-L., 38 rue du Molinel, Lille, Nord, France.
Petrie, Sir Charles, Bt., M.A., 14 Tregunter Road, The Boltons, S.W.10.
Peyton, S. A., Ph.D., 20 London Road, Reading.
* Phelps, Rev. P. B., M.A., Swanmore, near Bishop's Waltham, Hants.
Pickthorn, K. W. M., M.A., M.P., Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.
Pieris, P. E., C.M.G., Litt.D., Ceylon Civil Service, Colombo, Ceylon.
Pinchbeck, Miss I., M.A., Ph.D., 7 Woburn Square, W.C.1.
Plucknett, Professor T. F. T., M.A., LL.B., 17 Crescent Road, S.W.20.
Plunket, Miss Ierne A. L., M.A., Rathlyme, Lyme Regis.
* Pollard, A. F., D.Lit., Litt.D., F.B.A., Brierfield, Milford-on-Sea, Hants.
* Pollock, The Right Hon. Sir Frederick, Bt., K.C., D.C.L., LL.D., F.B.A., F.S.A., 21 Hyde Park Place, W.2.
Pond, P. J., Springfield House, Chalford, Stroud, Glos.
Ponsonby-Fane, R. A. B., LL.D., 18 Minamioji, Kamikamo, Kyoto, Japan.
Poole, A. L., M.A., St. John's College, Oxford.
Porteus, Rev. T. C., M.A., B.D., St. George's Vicarage, Chorley, Lancs.
Postan, M., M.Sc., Peterhouse, Cambridge.
Potter, H., Ph.D., LL.B., King's College, Strand, W.C.2.
* Potter, Professor G. R., Ph.D., M.A., The University, Sheffield.
Powell, Miss D. L., B.A., 51 Elm Park Mansions, Park Walk, S.W.10.
* Powell, Miss Helen L., 127 Vassall Road, S.W.9.
Powell-Price, J. C., M.A., c/o Messrs. Grindley & Co., Bombay, India.
Power, C. E., 2 Brook Green Studios, Dunsany Road, W.14.
Power, Professor Eileen E., M.A., D.Lit., Litt.D., 20 Mecklenburgh Square, W.C.1.
Powicke, Professor F. M., M.A., Litt.D., F.B.A. (*President*), Oriel College, Oxford.
Powley, E. B., B.A., B.Litt., 6 Partridge Road, Merrilocks Road, Blundellsands, Liverpool.
Pratt, Rev. M. A. R., 5 Epworth Chambers, P.O. Box, 931, Christchurch, New Zealand.
Prestage, Professor Edgar, M.A., D.Litt., 16 Holland Street, W.8.

Preston, A. E., F.S.A., Whitefield, Abingdon.
* Previté-Orton, C. W., M.A., Litt.D., F.B.A., 55 Bateman Street, Cambridge.
Proby, Granville, M.A., F.S.A., Elton Hall, Peterborough.
Procter, Miss Evelyn E. S., M.A., St. Hugh's College, Oxford.
Pryce, A. I., M.A., Diocesan Registry, Bangor.
Purvis, A., B.Sc., 6 Greenhalgh Walk, N.2.
Putnam, Professor Bertha H., Ph.D., Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass., U.S.A.
Pybus, Miss H. J., M.A., Newnham College, Cambridge.

Raby, F. J. E., C.B., M.A., F.S.A., Southways, Douglas Road, Harpenden, Herts.
Radford, C. A. R., B.A., Bradninch Manor, Devon.
Radford, Lady, F.S.A., 2 Pennsylvania Park, Exeter.
Radice, Mrs. Charles, Coombe House, Coombe, near Oxford.
Rae, D., M.A., Teachers' Training College, Auckland, New Zealand.
Ragatz, Professor L. J., M.A., Ph.D., The George Washington University, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
Ramsbotham, R. B., M.B.E., M.A., B.Litt., Muslim University, Aligarh, U.P., India.
Ramsey, R. W., F.S.A., 43 Ladbroke Square, W.11.
Ravenshaw, J., B.A., 10 West Hill, N.6.
Rawlinson, H. G., M.A., c/o Thos. Cook & Son, Berkeley Street, W.1.
Ray, J. E., 9 Stanley Road, Hastings.
Read, Conyers, Ph.D., Villa Nova, Pa, U.S.A.
Reaney, P. H., M.A., Ph.D., 12 Howard Road, Walthamstow, Essex.
* Reddaway, W. F., M.A., King's College, Cambridge.
Redlich, Rev. Canon E. B., M.A., B.D., Little Bowden Rectory, Market Harborough.
Redstone, V. B., F.S.A., 3 Seckford Street, Woodbridge.
Rees, Rev. T. Mardy, 24 Rugby Avenue, Neath, S. Wales.
Rees, Professor W., M.A., D.Sc., University College, Cathay's Park, Cardiff.
Reid, Miss R. R., M.A., D.Lit., 40 Cholmley Gardens, N.W.6.
Relf, Professor Frances H., Ph.D., Wells College, Aurora-on-Cayuga, New York, U.S.A.
* Renaut, Professor F. P., LL.D., D.Litt., 38 rue du Lourmel, Paris, XV^{e}, France.
Renier, G. J., Ph.D., 17A Great Ormond Street, W.C.1.
Rennard, T. A., M.A., Oak Lodge, Sidmouth Junction, Honiton, Devon.
Rich, E. E., M.A., St. Catharine's College, Cambridge.
Richards, R. D., B.Sc., Ph.D., 182 Gwydir Street, Cambridge.
Richardson, H. G., M.A., B.Sc., High Barn, 14 Sheridan Road, S.W.19.
Richardson, Mrs. Herbert, B.A., 48 Junction Road, Andover.
Richardson, Professor R. K., Ph.D., Beloit College, Beloit, Wis., U.S.A.
Richmond, Admiral Sir W. H., K.C.B., M.A., Great Kimble House, Aylesbury, Bucks.
Riddell, The Hon. Mr. Justice W. Renwick, B.Sc., LL.D., Hon. L.H.D., Osgoode Hall, Toronto, Canada.
Riker, Professor T. W., B.Litt., 2300 Leon Street, Austin, Texas, U.S.A.

Rimmer, Rev. J. S., M.A., B.D., The Rectory, Ulverston.
* Roberts, Captain J. H., F.R.G.S., F.S.I., 61 Wind Street, Swansea.
Roberts, P. E., M.A., Worcester College, Oxford.
* Roberts, R. A., Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W.1.
Robertson, Sir C. Grant, C.V.O., M.A., All Souls College, Oxford.
Robertson, L. A., M.A., B.Litt., 1 Cambridge Street, Edinburgh.
Robinson, Professor Chalfant, Ph.D., Princeton University, Princeton, N.J., U.S.A.
Robinson, Professor E. E., Ph.D., Stanford University, Cal., U.S.A.
Robinson, Miss E. M., Moylena, 80 Underhill Road, S.E.22.
Robinson, Professor Howard, M.A., Ph.D., LD.D., Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, U.S.A.
* Robinson, Morgan P., M.A., LL.B., 113 S. 3rd Street, Richmond, Va., U.S.A.
* Rodkey, F. S., A.M., Ph.D., 325 Lincoln Hall, Urbana, Ill., U.S.A.
Roe, F. Gordon, Kingston Lodge, 24 Addison Road, W.14.
Ronan, Rev. M. V., 6 Eblana Avenue, Dun Laoghaire, Co. Dublin.
Rosenberg, Hans W., D.Phil., Illinois College, Jacksonville, Ill., U.S.A.
Rose-Troup, Mrs. Frances, Bradleigh End, Ottery St. Mary, Devon.
Roth, Cecil, M.A., B.Litt., D.Phil., 65 Compayne Gardens, N.W.6.
Rothwell, H., B.A., Ph.D., The University, Edinburgh.
* Routh, Miss E. M. G., Fairpark House, Exeter.
Routledge, F. J., M.A., B.Litt., 19 Banks Avenue, Great Meols, Wirral, Cheshire.
Rowe, Miss B. J. H., M.A., B.Litt., c/o National Provincial Bank, The Square, Bournemouth.
Runciman, J. C. S., M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge.
Russell, Ephraim, M.A., B.Sc., Newlands, Swanlon, Winsford, Cheshire.
Russell, J. C., Ph.D., 422 Cameron Avenue, Chapel Hill, N.C., U.S.A.
Rutherford, Professor J., M.A., Ph.D., University College, Auckland, New Zealand.
Ruud, M. B., Ph.D., 429 Walnut Street, S.E., Minneapolis, Minn., U.S.A.

Sadler, H. W. W., 50 Vernon Road, Leigh-on-Sea, Essex.
Sage, Professor W. N., M.A., Ph.D., University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C., Canada.
Sainsbury, Miss E. B., 29 Abercorn Place, N.W.8.
* Salter, F. R., M.A., Magdalene College, Cambridge.
Saltmarsh, J., M.A., King's College, Cambridge.
Sanigar, W. T., 205 Avon Vale Road, Barton Hill, Bristol.
Sastri, K. N. V., M.A., Ph.D., H.H. Maharajah's College, Mysore, India.
Saunders, H. W., M.A., D.Litt., The Grammar School, Horsmonden, Kent.
Sayles, G. O., M.A., D.Litt., The University, Glasgow.
Scholefield, G. H., O.B.E., D.Sc., 42 Upper Watt Street, Highland Park, Wellington, New Zealand.
Schuyler, Professor R. L., A.M., Ph.D., Columbia University, New York City, N.Y., U.S.A.
Scofield, B., M.A., Ph.D., British Museum, W.C.1.
* Scofield, Miss Cora L., Ph.D., The College Club, 40 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
Scott, Professor Ernest, M.A., The University, Melbourne, Australia.

Scott, Rev. H. S., D.Phil., B.Litt., Oddington Rectory, Islip, Oxon.
Searley, A. W., Northernhay, Kingskerswell, Devon.
Sears, Professor L. M., Ph.D., Purdue University, West Lafayette, Indiana, U.S.A.
* Seebohm, Hugh Exton, J.P., Poynders End, Hitchin.
Sefton-Jones, Mrs. H. M., Hampton Court Palace, Hampton Court, Middx.
Sen, Surendra Nath, M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt., 6/3 Ekdalia Road, Ballygunge, Calcutta, India.
Seton-Watson, Professor R. W., D.Litt., Ph.D., F.B.A., 1 Parkside Gardens, S.W.19.
* Seybolt, Professor R. F., Ph.B., M.A., Ph.D., University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill., U.S.A.
Seymour, Professor C., LL.D., Litt.D., Yale University, New Haven, Conn., U.S.A.
* Shaw, Professor P. E., M.A., Ph.D., Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn., U.S.A.
Shaw, W. B., F.S.A.(Scot.), 56 Sandy Lane, Stretford, near Manchester.
* Shawcross, Major G. N., R.E. (T.A.), M.B.E., Deanwood, Rivington, nr. Bolton.
Shelley, R. J. A., Denbie House, Formby, Lancs.
Shelley-Rolls, Sir J. C. E., Bt., Avington Park, Winchester.
Sherwani, Professor H. K., M.A., Osmania University College, Hyderabad, Deccan, India.
* Shettle, Rev. G. T., L.A., Hunsingore House, Wetherby, Yorks.
* Shipman, H. R., Ph.D., 27 Mercer Street, Princeton, N.J., U.S.A.
Shirley, Rev. F. J., M.A., LL.B., Headmaster's House, Worksop College, Notts.
Siebert, Professor W. H., M.A., University Hall, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, U.S.A.
* Sieveking, A. Forbes, F.S.A., 7 Belsize Grove, N.W.3.
Sikes, J. G., M.A., Newnham Grove, Cambridge.
* Simpson, Rev. F. A., M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge.
Skipton, Rev. H. P. K., F.S.A., St. Philip's Parsonage, Reigate.
* Slater, Professor Gilbert, M.A., 4 Park Crescent, Oxford.
Slosser, Rev. Professor G. J., S.T.M., Ph.D., 203 Summit Avenue, Bellevue, Pittsburg, Pa., U.S.A.
Smart, Lieut.-Colonel F. W. B., M.A., Charterhouse, Godalming.
Smith, Donald, F.R.G.S., Byways, Mollands Lane, South Ockendon, Essex.
Smith, D. B., C.B.E., LL.D., The Library, Admiralty, S.W.1.
Smith, Professor H. A., M.A., Burcote Grange, Abingdon.
* Smith, Miss M. Howes, M.A., 2 Sunny Bank, Stamford Road, Bowdon, Cheshire.
Smith, W. Owston, M.A., I.E.S., 41 Molyneux Park, Tunbridge Wells.
* Smyth, Rev. C. H. E., M.A., 186 Huntingdon Road, Cambridge.
Soltau, Professor R. H., M.A., American University, Beirut, Syria.
Somers, Rev. H. J., J.C.B., M.A., Ph.D., St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, Nova Scotia.
Southam, Colonel L. A. C., D.S.O., Rodney House, Malvern Link.
Southern, R. W., B.A., Exeter College, Oxford.
Spencer, T. P., M.A., County Secondary School, Heanor, Nottingham.
Spens, H. B., B.A., 25 Park Circus, Glasgow.

Stafford, G. W., M.A., Moorbeck, Lightwood Road, Buxton.
Stamp, A. E., C.B., M.A., F.S.A. (*Auditor*), Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, W.C.2.
* Stampa, L., M.A., F.S.A., Stanton, Higher Erith Road, Torquay.
Standing, T. G., M.A., Prince Edward School, Salisbury, S. Rhodesia, South Africa.
Steed, Wickham, LL.D., 7 Lansdowne House, Holland Park, W.11.
Steefel, L. D., M.A., Ph.D., 735 Huron Street, S.E., Minneapolis, Minn., U.S.A.
Steel, A. B., M.A., Christ's College, Cambridge.
Stenton, Professor F. M., M.A., F.B.A., The University, Reading.
Stock, Leo F., M.A., Ph.D., LL.D., Carnegie Institution of Washington, 909 Tower Building, 14th and K Streets, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
Summers, H. F., Market Place, Southwell, Notts.
Sumner, B. H., M.A., Balliol College, Oxford.
Sumner, E. J., M.A., Sedgwick House, Sedbergh, Yorks.
Sutherland, Miss L. S., M.A., Somerville College, Oxford.
Sweet, Professor A. H., A.M., Ph.D., Washington and Jefferson College, Washington, Pa., U.S.A.
Sykes, Rev. Professor Norman, M.A., D.Phil., 5 Hill Top, N.W.11.

* Tanner, Miss E. M., B.A., Roedean School, Brighton.
Tanner, L. E., M.V.O., M.A., F.S.A., 49 Romney Street, S.W.1.
Tapley-Soper, H., F.L.A., F.S.A., City Library, Castle Street, Exeter.
Tarn, W. W., Litt.D., F.B.A., Muirtown House, Inverness, Scotland.
Tate, W. E., Sneyd Church School, Nile Street, Burslem, Staffs.
Tawney, Professor R. H., B.A., Litt.D., F.B.A., 44 Mecklenburgh Square, W.C.1.
* Tayler, Miss H., 181 Queens Gate, S.W.7.
* Temperley, Professor H. W. V., O.B.E., Litt.D., F.B.A., Peterhouse, Cambridge.
Thistlethwaite, B., 10 Victoria Road, Harborne, Birmingham.
Thomas, A. H., M.A., LL.D., F.S.A., Records Office, Guildhall, E.C.2.
Thompson, Miss A. D., Sylvan Hall, Upper Lewes Road, Brighton.
Thompson, Professor A. Hamilton, D.Litt., F.B.A., F.S.A., Beck Cottage, Adel, Leeds.
Thompson, Miss B. M. Hamilton, M.A., B.Litt., St. Hugh's College, Oxford.
Thompson, Rev. J. M., M.A., Magdalen College, Oxford.
Thomson, Miss G. Scott, M.A., F.S.A., 23 Carlisle Mansions, Carlisle Place, S.W.1.
Thomson, M. A., M.A., D.Phil., 123 Gower Street, W.C.1.
Thomson Rev. Professor S. Harrison, B.Litt. Ph.D., Colorado University, Boulder, Col., U.S.A.
Thomson, T. R. F., M.A., Benenden, Kent.
Thornley, Miss I. D., M.A., 6 Cholmeley Crescent, N.6.
Thrupp, Miss S. L., M.A., Ph.D., 2626 13th Avenue, West, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada.
Tipping, C. H., B.A., 1 St. George's Square, Cheltenham.
Todd, Professor J. E., M.A., Queen's University, Belfast.
* Todhunter, Sir Charles, K.C.S.I., Bangalore, India.
Tolhurst, J. B. L., 47 Manor Road, Beckenham, Kent.

Tomkeieff, Mrs. O. G., M.A., LI .B., 42 Highbury, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
Tompkins, H. W., 8 Cromer Road, Southend-on-Sea.
Tory, Henry Marshall, M.A., LL.D., D.Sc., 327 Buena Vista Road, Rockcliffe Park, Ottawa, Canada.
Tout, Mrs. T. F., M.A., 10 North Square, N.W.11.
Toye, D. B., O.B.E., LL.D., 32 Welbeck Avenue, Hove, Sussex.
Toynbee, Miss M. R., M.A., Ph.D., 5 Park Crescent, Oxford.
Toyne, S. M., M.A., St. Peter's School, York.
Treat, Professor P. J., Ph.D., 750 Dolores Street, Stanford University, Cal., U.S.A.
Treharne, Professor R. F., M.A., Ph.D., Hillside, Brynymor Road, Aberystwyth.
* Trevelyan, Professor G. M., O.M., Litt.D., F.B.A., Trinity College, Cambridge.
Trotter, R. G., A.B., A.M., Ph.D., Queen's University, Kingston, Canada.
Tunstall, W. C. B., M.A., Royal Naval College, Greenwich, S.E.10.
Turberville, Professor A. S., M.A., B.Litt., 94 Potternewton Lane, Leeds.
* Turton, Major Robert Bell, Kildale Hall, Kildale, Yorks.
Tweedsmuir, Lord C. H., LL.D., D.C.L., Elsfield Manor, Oxford.
Tyler, J. E., M.A., The University, Sheffield.
Tyson, M., M.A., Ph.D., The Victoria University, Manchester.

Underhill, Professor F. H., M.A., The University, Toronto, Canada.
*Usher, Professor R. G., Ph.D., Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., U.S.A.

Van der Byl, F. V., M.A., Ph.D., Litt.D., Craigend Park School, Edinburgh, 9.
Vaucher, Professor Paul, D. ès L., Queen Anne's Mansions, S.W.1.
Vaughan, W. W., M.A., D.Litt., The Manor House, Princes Risborough, Bucks.
Veale, E. W. W., LL.D., 14 Orchard Street, Bristol.
Veitch, Professor G. S., M.A., Litt.D., 8 Brompton Avenue, Liverpool, 17.
* Vickers, Principal K. H., M.A., University College, Southampton.
Vincent, Professor J. M., Ph.D., 406 South Holliston Avenue, Pasadena, Cal., U.S.A.

* Wade, C. E., M.A., 39 Regent's Park Road, N.W.1.
* Wake, Miss Joan, Northamptonshire Record Society, County Hall, Northampton.
Wale, W., Cambridge Villas, 121 The Promenade, Cheltenham.
Walker, Professor E. A., M.A., St. John's College, Cambridge.
Walker, Major G. G., D.S.O., M.C., Armoury House, City Road, E.C.1.
Walker, J., M.A., Ph.D., Kelbrook, Greenrigg Gardens, Alexandra Road, Sunderland.
Walker, J. Holland (*Auditor*), M.B.E., F.S.A., 15 Park Valley, Nottingham.
* Walker, J. W., O.B.E., F.S.A., Twemlow Hall, Holmes Chapel, Cheshire.
* Walker, Robert J., F.R.G.S., F.S.A., Ormidale, Knighton Park Road, Leicester.
Walker, W. H. T., M.A., New Street, Heckington, nr. Sleaford, Lincs.
* Wall, J. C., 108 Canterbury Road, Leyton, E.10.
Wallace, Malcolm W., B.A., Ph.D., 91 Walmer Road, Toronto, Canada.

Ward, Mrs. J. G. S., B.A., Ph.D., Unsted, Hartswood Road, Brentwood, Essex.
* Warmington, Professor E. H., 48 Flower Lane, N.W.7.
Watson, W. G. Willis, M.A., Single's Lodge, Pinhoe, Exeter.
* Watt, James, LL.D., W.S., 7 Blackford Road, Edinburgh, 10.
* Watts, Rev. Herbert C., 27 Jaycroft, Burnham-on-Sea.
Weaver, F. J., M.A., Beechleys, Winkton Common, Christchurch.
Webster, Professor C. K., M.A., Litt.D., F.B.A., 38 Mecklenburgh Square, W.C.1.
Wedgwood, Miss C. V., B.A., 23 Sheffield Terrace, W.8.
Weeks, Rev. G. E. A., M.A., B.D., LL.D., Fenny Compton Rectory, Leamington Spa.
Weiner, A., M.A., 11A Bristol House, Southampton Row, W.C.1.
Weitzmann, Miss S., M.A., Ph.D., 15 Clissold Court, Green Lanes, N.4.
Welbourne, E., M.A., Emmanuel College, Cambridge.
Welldon, The Right Rev. Bishop, D.D., The Dell, Sevenoaks.
Wellstood, F. C., M.A., F.S.A., 19 Henley Street, Stratford-on-Avon.
Westergaard, Professor Waldemar, Ph.D., 1000 Manning Avenue, Los Angeles, Cal., U.S.A.
Whale, Miss G. B., B.A., 29 Park Place, Cardiff.
Wheeler, H. F. B., D.Litt. (Hon.), Balholmen, Grove Road, Northwood, Middlesex.
White, A. B., Ph.D., University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn., U.S.A.
* White, Miss E. M., Westcroft, Norton Road, Wembley, Middlesex.
White, G. H., 222 South Norwood Hill, S.E.25.
Whitehead, A. W., M.A., Grenville, La Rocque, Jersey, Channel Islands.
Whiteley, J. G., 223 West Lanvale Street, Baltimore, Md., U.S.A.
Whitelock, Miss D., M.A., St. Hilda's College, Oxford.
* Whitfield, Professor A. S., B.Litt., Dyffryn-on-Sea, Merioneth.
Whiting, Rev. Professor C. E., D.D., B.C.L., F.S.A., St. Chad's College, Durham.
* Whitley, Rev. W. T., LL.D. (*Auditor*), 18 New London Road, Chelmsford.
Whitney, Rev. Professor J. P., D.D., D.C.L., 6 St. Peter's Terrace, Cambridge.
Whitty, R. G. H., M.A., Broomleigh, Staplegrove Road, Taunton.
Whyte, Rev. A. J. B., M.A., Litt.D., 26 Latimer Road, Headington, Oxford.
Wilkinson, Rev. J. T., M.A., B.D., 92 Hartington Road, Sefton Park, Liverpool.
Wilkinson, M., M.A., St. John's College, Oxford.
Williams, A. J., M.A., Church House, The Ridgeway, N.W.7.
Williams, The Very Rev. A. T. P., M.A., Christ Church, Oxford.
Williams, Professor Basil, M.A., F.B.A., The University, Edinburgh.
Williams, Professor C. H., M.A., 13 St. John's Wood Terrace, N.W.8.
Williams, H. G., M.A., High School for Boys, Westcliff-on-Sea.
Williams, Miss Judith B., Ph.D., Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass., U.S.A.
Williams, Professor J. W., M.A., B.Litt., The Roundel, St. Andrews, Fife.
Williams, R., M.A., 32 St. James's Court, Buckingham Gate, S.W.1.
Williams, T. G., M.A., 63 Eardley Crescent, S.W.5.

Williams, Rev. Watkin, M.A., 3 Wellington House, Great Malvern.
Williams, W. W., B.Sc., Sedgemead, Wroxham Drive, Upton, Wirral, Cheshire.
Williamson, Rev. C. C. H., 68 Hazlewood Crescent, W.10.
Williamson, F., Museum and Art Gallery, Derby.
Willson, D. H., Ph.D., University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn., U.S.A.
Wilson, A. E., M.A., Terrington, Tivoli Crescent, Brighton.
Wilson, H. W., D.Litt., 203 Elgin Avenue, W.9.
* Wilson, Rev. S. G., B.Litt., F.S.A.(Scot.), Blean Vicarage, Canterbury.
Winfield, Professor P. H., LL.D., F.B.A., 13 Cranmer Road, Cambridge.
Winstanley, D. A., M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge.
Wood, A. C., M.A., B.Litt., D.Phil., 21 Elm Avenue, Beeston, Nottingham.
Wood, Herbert, B.A., F.S.A., 74 Hazlewell Road, S.W.15.
Wood, Miss M., M.A., Ph.D., 16 Buckingham Terrace, Edinburgh.
Wood, N., M.A., Ph.D., 70 London Road, Sleaford, Lincs.
Wood, William, Rock House, Polperro, Cornwall.
Woodbine, Professor G. E., B.A., Ph.D., LL.B., Guilford, Conn., U.S.A.
Woodhead, E. W., M.A., 39 Eaton Road, Norwich.
Wood-Legh, Miss K. L., B.Litt., Ph.D., 49 Owlstone Road, Cambridge.
Woods, E. C., L.D.S., R.C.S., Green Gables, Bowness-on-Windermere.
Woodward, E. Ll., M.A., All Souls College, Oxford.
Wordsworth, Rev. Canon C., M.A., St. Nicholas's Hospital, Salisbury.
Workman, Rev. H. B., D.D., D.Lit., Westminster College, Horseferry Road, S.W.1.
Wright, Miss Irene, B.A., Avenida de la Libertad 47, Seville, Spain.
Wrong, Professor G. M., M.A., LL.D., 73 Walmer Road, Toronto, Canada.
Wynn, Rev. H. E., M.A., Pembroke College, Cambridge.

Yorke, Philip Chesney, M.A., L.-ès-L., 98 Addison Road, W.14.
Young, R. Fitzgibbon, M.A., D.Phil., Boldrewood, Claygate, Surrey.

Zaleski, August, B.Sc., Bank Handlowy, Warsaw, Poland.

ASSOCIATES OF THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Beaumont, H., M.A., 45 Norman Road, Sutton, Surrey.
Bennett, R. F., B.A., 48 Hornchurch Road, Romford, Essex.
Blaydon, G. R., Guildhall, Thetford, Norfolk.
Borough, Rev. R. F., M.A., Bradbourne Vicarage, Ashbourne, Derbyshire.

Collar, H., The Museum, Saffron Walden, Essex.
Crews, C. C., M.A., Highfield, The Flats, Blackwater, nr. Camberley, Hants.

Elvin, L., 29 Boultham Avenue, Lincoln,
Emsden, Nevil, 26 Sherborne Avenue, Norwood Green, Southall, Middx.

Green, H., B.A., 13 Hawton Spinney, Wollaton Park, Nottingham.
Gregory, Miss A. L., M.A., Ph.D., Bradda, Frewland Avenue, Stockport.

Inglis, D., M.A., County House, Brecon.

James, A. W., B.A., St. Swithin's House, Lewes.
Jarvis, R. C., Chilton Chase, North Street, Nazeing, Essex.
Jones, E. W., 54 Walker Road, Blackley Estate, Manchester, 9.

Kelley, Miss L. W., M.A., 6 Campden House Mews, W.8.

Lewis, F. R., M.A., Gorphwysfa, Aberystwyth.
Lydekker, J. W., M.A., The White House, High Street, Harpenden, Herts.

Manton, J. O., Bourtonville, Buckingham.
Mathews, E. F. J., Eastlea, 56 Wimborne Road, Poole.

Newman, F. H., Netley, Gaping Lane, Hitchin.

Otway-Ruthven, Miss A. J., B.A., Cloragh House, Ashford, Co. Wicklow.

Price, S. J., Westbury, Creswich Road, W.3.

Radford, Miss C., 2 Pennsylvania Park, Exeter.
Reeve, H. F., 24 Gold Top, Newport.
Riley, H. G., A.R.I.B.A., Foxton, Market Harborough.

Sanders, I. J., M.A., 51 Salisbury Road, Cardiff.
Scroggs, Miss E. S., 23 Hornton Street, W.8.
Slegg, W. B., The Cedars, Harling, Norwich.
Smith-Masters, Rev. J. E., M.A., Byeways, Andover Road, Newbury.

Waters, S. H., M.A., 5 Belmont Road, Wakefield.
Williams, E. T., B.A., Merton College, Oxford.

HONORARY FELLOWS.

Kenyon, Sir Frederic G., G.B.E., K.C.B., D.Litt., LL.D., F.B.A., F.S.A., Kirkstead, Godstone, Surrey.

* Lyte, Sir H. C. Maxwell, K.C.B., D.Litt., F.B.A., F.S.A., 61 Warwick Square, S.W.1.

* Poole, Reginald L., LL.D., Litt.D., F.B.A., 19 Banbury Road, Oxford.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

Almkvist, Professor Johan, Nybrogatan 7, Stockholm, Sweden.
Altamira y Crevea, Professor R., Lagasca 105, Madrid, Spain.
Andrews, Professor C. M., Ph.D., Litt.D., LL.D., Yale University, New Haven, Conn., U.S.A.

Bémont, Charles, D.Litt., 14 Rue Monsieur le Prince, Paris (VI^{e}), France.
Birkenmajer, Professor Aleksander, Ph.D., Dept. of MSS., University Library, Cracow, Poland.
Botha, Graham C., M.A., Archive Department, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, South Africa.
Brandt, Professor K., Dr.Phil., Litt.D., The University, Göttingen, Germany.

Cheney, Emeritus Professor E. P., A.M., LL.D., University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.
Colenbrander, Professor H. J., Dr.Phil., The University, Leiden, Holland.
Cuvelier, Dr. J., Archiviste General du Royaume, Avenue des Rogations 45, Brussels, Belgium.

Delehaye, Père Hippolyte, D.Litt.(Oxon), Société des Bollandistes, Boulevard Saint Michel, 24 Brussels, Belgium.
Dembinski, Professor Bronislaw, Dr.Phil., The University, Pozen, Poland.
Dopsch, Professor Alfons, Dr.Phil., The University, Vienna, Austria.
Doughty, A. G., M.A., C.M.G., Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Canada.

Halecki, Professor Oskar, Dr.Phil., The University, Warsaw, Poland.
Halévy, Professor M. Élie, La Maison Blance, Sucy en Brie, Seine-et-Oise, France.
Handelsman, Professor Marceli, Ph.D., The University, Warsaw, Poland.
Hannay, Professor R. K., M.A., LL.D., F.R.S.E., 5 Royal Terrace, Edinburgh.
Haskins, Professor C. H., Ph.D., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.

* Honorary Life Fellows under By-law IV. (since repealed).

Hayden, Professor Mary T., M.A., 26 Cambridge Road, Upper Rathmines, Dublin.
Holtzmann, Professor R., Ph.D., Am Schlachtensee, 145, Berlin-Nikolassee, Germany.
Horváth, Professor E., Phil.D., II, Ilona útca 4, Francis Joseph Institute, Budapest, Hungary.
Huizinga, Professor J., Ph.D., The University, Leiden, Holland.

Iorga, N., Ph.D., Chaussée Bonaparte 6, Bucharest, Roumania.

Jameson, Professor J. F., Litt.D., LL.D., Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.

Kehr, Professor Paul F., Dr.Phil., Kaiser Wilhelm's Institut, Charlottenstrasse 41, Berlin N.W.7, Germany.
Koht, Professor H., Dr.Phil., Litt.D., The University, Oslo, Norway.

Linvald, Professor Axel, Keeper of the Archives, Kongensvej 24, Copenhagen, Denmark.
Lloyd, Professor Sir John, M.A., D.Litt., F.B.A., F.S.A., Gwaen Deg, Bangor, Wales.
Lot, Professor F., D.-ès-L., Faculté des Lettres, The University, Paris, France.

McIlwain, Professor C. H., Ph.D., LL.D., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
Meinecke, Professor Friedrich, Dr. Phil et jur., The University, Berlin, Germany.
Meyer, Professor A. O., Ph.D., Widenmayerstrasse 26, Munich, Bavaria.
Michael, Emeritus Professor Wolfgang, Ph.D., Hon. LL.D.(Edinburgh), Maria Theresiastrasse 3, Freiburg (Breisgau), Germany.

Pagès, Professor Georges, Faculté des Lettres, The University, Paris, France.
Petit-Dutaillis, Charles, D.-ès-L., Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris, France.
Pribram, Professor A. F., D.Phil., The University, Vienna, Austria.

Ravenell, H. E., A.B., A.M., 430 East Main Street, Spartanburg, South Carolina, U.S.A.
Re, Emilio, Cav. Dr., Archivio di Stato, Rome, Italy.

Sarkar, Sir Jadunath, C.I.E., M.A., Sarkar-abas, Darjiling, Bengal, India.
Sarolea, Prof. Charles, K.O.L., LL.D., Litt.D., 21 Royal Terrace, Edinburgh.
Srbik, Professor Heinrich Ritter von, Dr.Phil., The University, Vienna, Austria.
Susta, Professor Josef, Dr. Phil., Charles University, Prague, Czecho-Slovakia.

Nriburu, Señor J. E., Parera 78, Buenos Aires, South America.

LIST OF SUBSCRIBING LIBRARIES.

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

Aberdeen University.
Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales.
University College of Wales.

Bangor, University College of North Wales.
Bath, Municipal Library.
Belfast, The Queen's University.
Birkenhead Public Library.
Birmingham Library, Margaret Street.
Birmingham Public Libraries (Reference Library).
University.
Bolton Central Reference Library, Town Hall Square.
Bradford Public Library, Darley Street.
Brighton Public Library, Royal Pavilion.
Bristol Central Library.
University.

Cambridge, Girton College.
King's College.
Newnham College.
Peterhouse.
St. Catharine's College.
St. John's College.
The Seeley Historical Library, The Old Schools.
University Library.
Canterbury, Dean and Chapter Library.
Cardiff Public Library.
Carlisle Public Library, Castle Street, Carlisle.
Cork, University College.
Coventry, Gulson (Central) Library.

Downside Abbey, *see* Stratton-on-the-Fosse.
Dublin, King's Inns Library.
National Library of Ireland, Kildare Street.
Royal Irish Academy, 19 Dawson Street.
Trinity College.
Durham University.

Edinburgh, Signet Library.
National Library of Scotland.
Public Library.
Record Office.
University Library.
Englefield Green, Surrey, Royal Holloway College.

Glasgow. Baillie's Institution, 153 West Regent Street.
Faculty of Procurators Library, 68 St. George's Place.
Mitchell Library.
University Library.

Gloucester Public Library, Brunswick Road.
Grimsby Public Library.

Hawarden, St. Deiniol's Library.
Hove Public Library.
Hull, University College.

Leeds Church Institute.
Library, Commercial Street, Leeds.
Public Library.
The University.
Leicester Municipal Library, Wellington Street.
Liverpool, Athenæum, Church Alley.
Public Library.
University.
London, The Admiralty Library, S.W.1.
The Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W.1.
Battersea Public Libraries, Lavender Hill, S.W.11.
Bedford College for Women, Regent's Park, N.W.8.
Birkbeck College, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane, W.C.2.
British Museum, W.C.1.
Chelsea Public Library, Manresa Road, S.W.3.
Chiswick Public Library, Duke's Avenue, W.4.
Conservative Club, St. James's Street, S.W.1.
Finsbury Public Library, Skinner Street, E.C.1.
Fulham Public Library, 598 Fulham Road, S.W.6.
Gray's Inn Library, W.C.1.
Guildhall Library, King Street, E.C.2.
Hammersmith Carnegie Central Library, Brook Green, W.6.
Hampstead Central Public Library, Finchley Road, N.W.8.
Hendon Public Library, The Burroughs, N.W.4.
House of Commons Library, S.W.1.
House of Lords Library, S.W.1.
Inner Temple Library, E.C.4.
Institute of Historical Research, Malet Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.1.
Kensington Public Library, High Street, W.8.
King's College Library, Strand, W.C.2.
The Law Society Library, Chancery Lane, W.C.2.
Leyton Public Library, Lea Bridge Road, E.10.
Lincoln's Inn Library, W.C.2.
London Library, St. James's Square, S.W.1.
London School of Economics and Political Science, Houghton Street, Aldwych, W.C.2.
London University, South Kensington, S.W.7.
Middle Temple Library, E.C.4.
National Portrait Gallery, S.W.1.
New University Club, St. James's Street, S.W.1.
The Oratory, Brompton Road, South Kensington, S.W.1.
Oxford and Cambridge Club, 71 Pall Mall, S.W.1.
Public Record Office, W.C.2.
Reform Club, 104 Pall Mall, S.W.1.

London, Royal Institution, 21 Albemarle Street, W.1.
Royal Societies Club, 63 St. James's Street, S.W.1.
St. George's Public Library, Buckingham Palace Road, S.W.1.
Sion College Library, Victoria Embankment, S.W.1.
Southwark Central Library, Walworth Road, S.E.17.
Stoke Newington Public Library, Church Street, N.16.
United University Club, 1 Suffolk Street, S.W.1.
University College Library, Gower Street, W.C.1.
Westfield College Library, Hampstead, N.W.3.
Dr. Williams's Library, 14 Gordon Square, W.C.1.

Manchester, The John Rylands Library.
Public Libraries.
Middlesbrough Free Library, Municipal Buildings.
Mirfield, House of the Resurrection.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne Literary and Philosophical Society
Public Library.
Newport (Mon.), Public Library.
Norfolk and Norwich Library, Guildhall Hill, Norwich.
Nottingham Public Reference Library.
University College.

Oldham, Union Street Library.
Oxford, All Souls College.
Balliol College.
Bodleian Library.
Exeter College.
Jesus College.
Keble College.
Magdalen College.
Manchester College.
Merton College.
Oriel College.
St. John's College.
Somerville College.
The Queen's College.
Union Society.

Plymouth, The Athenæum, George Street.
Preston Library (Dr. Shepherd's).

Reading Free Public Library, Blagrave Street.

St. Andrews University.
Sheffield Public Library.
Southampton, University College.
Stafford, William Salt Public Library.
Stonyhurst College, Whalley, Lancs.
Stratton-on-the-Fosse, near Bath, Downside Abbey.
Swansea University College, Singleton Park.

Wigan Public Library.
Wimbledon Public Library, S.W.19.

Windsor Royal Library, Windsor Castle.
Workington Public Library.

York Public Library.
Yorkshire Architectural and Archæological Society, c/o G. Benson, Esq., Grasslyn, Thirsk Road, Easingwold, Yorks.

BRITISH DOMINIONS AND INDIA.

Adelaide (South Australia), Public Library.
University Library.
Allahabad (India), University Library.
Auckland (New Zealand), University Library.

Bombay (India), University Library.
Brisbane (Australia), Public Library of Queensland.
University of Queensland.
Bulawayo, Rhodesia (South Africa), Public Library.

Canberra (Australia), Library of the Parliament of the Commonwealth.
Cape Town (South Africa), South African Library.
Colombo (Ceylon), University College.

Dunedin (New Zealand), Otago University Library.

Egypt, The Egyptian University Library, Orman Gardens, Giza, B.

Grahamstown (South Africa), Rhodes University College Library.

Halifax (Nova Scotia), Legislative Library.

Johannesburg (South Africa), Public Library.

Lahore (India), University of the Punjab.
London (Canada), University of Western Ontario.
Lucknow (India), Isabella Thoburn College.

Melbourne (Australia), University Central Library.
Public Library.
Montreal (Canada), Civic Library, 1210 Sherbrooke Street E.
McGill University Library.

Ottawa (Canada), Library of Parliament.

Perth (West Australia), Public Library.
Pretoria (South Africa), State Library.

Sydney (Australia), Public Library, Parliament Buildings.
University Library.

Toronto (Canada), Legislative Library of Ontario, Parliament Buildings.
Public Library, College and St. George Street.

Valletta (Malta), The Royal Malta Library.
Victoria (British Columbia, Canada), Provincial Library.

Wellington (New Zealand), General Assembly Library.
Victoria University Library.

FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

BELGIUM.

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale.
Gand, Bibliothèque de l'Université, 2 Fosse d'Othon.

CHINA.

Peking, The National Library (Periodical Division), 1 Wen Chin, Chieh.
Tungshan, Canton, Sun Yat Sen University Library.

DENMARK.

Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliothek.

FRANCE.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.
Institut de France.
Université de Paris.
Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire, 6 Place de la République.

GERMANY.

Berlin, Preussische Staats-Bibliothek.
Bonn, Universitäts-Bibliothek.
Freiburg, i. Br. Universitäts-Bibliothek.
Göttingen, Universitäts-Bibliothek.
Greifswald, Universitäts-Bibliothek.
Halle, Universitäts-Bibliothek.
Hamburg, Staats-Bibliothek.
Heidelberg, Universitäts-Bibliothek.
Jena, Universitäts-Bibliothek.
Leipzig, Universitäts-Bibliothek.
Marburg, Universitäts-Bibliothek.
Münich, Bayer Staats-Bibliothek.
Würzburg, Universitäts-Bibliothek.

ITALY.

Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

NORWAY.

Oslo, The University Library.

POLAND.

Warsaw, Biblioteka Ministerstwo Spraw Zagranicznych.

SWEDEN.

Götebörg, Stads Bibliotek.
Lund, K. Universitets-Biblioteket.
Stockholm, Kungl. Bibliotek.
Uppsala, K. Universitets-Biblioteket.

SWITZERLAND.

Basel, Universitäts Bibliothek, Schonbeinstrasse, 20.

UNITED STATES.

Albany (N.Y.), New York State Library.
Amherst (Mass.), Amherst College Library.
Ann Arbor (Mich.), Michigan University Library.
Austin (Texas), Texas University.

Baltimore (Md.), Enoch Pratt Library.
Johns Hopkins University Library.
Peabody Institute Library.
Berkeley (Cal.), California University Library.
Bethlehem (Pa.), Lehigh University Library.
Bloomington (Ind.), Indiana University Library.
Boston (Mass.), Athenæum.
Public Library.
Brunswick (Me.), Bowdoin College Library.
Bryn Mawr (Pa.), Bryn Mawr College Library.
Buffalo (N.Y.), Grosvenor Public Library.

Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard University Library.
Harvard Law School Library.
Charlottesville (Va.), University of Virginia Library.
Chicago (Ill.), Newberry Library.
University Library (Order Section W. 21).
Cincinnati (Ohio), Public Library.
Cleveland (Ohio), Public Library, 325 Superior Avenue, N.E.
Clinton (N.Y.), Hamilton College Library.
Columbus (Ohio), State University Library.

Detroit (Mich.), Public Library.
Durham (N. Car.), Duke's University.

Eugene (Oregon), University of Oregon.
Evanston (Ill.), North Western University.

Grand Rapids (Mass.), Public Library.

Hanover (N.H.), Dartmouth College Library.
Haverford (Pa.), Haverford College Library.
Houston (Texas), Rice Institute Library.

Ithaca (N.Y.), Cornell University Library.

Jersey City (N.J.), Free Public Library, 472–486 Jersey Avenue

Lawrence (Kans.), Kansas University Library.
Lincoln (Neb.), Nebraska University Library.
Los Angeles (Cal.), Public Library, 35 South Hope Street.
University of California, 405 Hilgard Avenue.

Madison (Wis.), State Historical Society of Wisconsin.
Milwaukee (Wis.), Public Library.

Minneapolis (Minn.), Athenæum Library.
Minnesota University Library.
Mundelein (Ill.), Feehan Memorial Library, St. Mary of the Lake Seminary.

Newark (N.J.), Free Public Library.
New Haven (Conn.), Yale University Library.
New York (N.Y.), Columbia University Library.
General Theological Seminary Library, 175 Ninth Avenue.
Public Library.
University, Washington Square Library, 32 Waverley Place.
Northampton (Mass.), Smith College Library.

Philadelphia (Pa.), Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1300 Locust Street.
Library Company of Philadelphia.
Pennsylvania University Library.
St. Clement's Library, Locust Street at Forty Second.
Pittsburg (Pa.), Carnegie Library (The Periodical Room), 4400 Forbes Street.
Poughkeepsie (N.Y.), Vassar College Library.
Princeton (N.J.), Princeton University Library.
Providence (R.I.), Brown University Library.

Richmond (Va.), Virginia State Library.
Rochester (N.Y.), The Rush Rees Library, University of Rochester.

St. Louis (Mo.), Public Library.
University Library, Grand and Pine Boulevards.
Washington University.
San Francisco (Cal.), Public Library, Civic Center.
San Marino (Cal.), Huntington Library.
Seattle (D.C.), University of Washington.
South Hadley (Mass.), Mount Holyoke College Library.
Stanford (Cal.), University Library.

Terre Haute (Ind.), Indiana State Normal School Library.

Urbana (Ill.), Illinois University Library.

Washington (D.C.), Catholic University of America.
Wellesley (Mass.), Wellesley College Library.
Williamstown (Mass.), Williams College Library.
Winona (Minn.), College of Saint Teresa.

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

WHICH EXCHANGE TRANSACTIONS WITH THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, London, W.1.
Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, 63 Merrion Square, Dublin.
Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Queen Street, Edinburgh.
The Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion, 20 Bedford Square, W.C.1.
Surrey Archæological Society, Castle Arch, Guildford.
Jewish Historical Society, Mocatta Library, University College, Gower Street, W.C.1.
The University, Manchester.
Thoroton Society, Bromley House, Angel Row, Nottingham.

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES ABROAD

WHICH EXCHANGE TRANSACTIONS WITH THE SOCIETY.

AUSTRALIA.

Royal Australian Historical Society, Department of Education Offices, Bridge Street, Sydney.

BELGIUM.

Académie Royale d'Archéologie de Belgique, Rue de Witte, 59, Antwerp.
Académie Royale de Belgique, Commission Royale d'Histoire, Palais des Academies, Rue Ducale, 1, Brussels.
Archives, Hotel de Ville, Antwerp.

CANADA.

Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa.
Toronto University.

FRANCE.

Bibliothèque de l'Université de Toulouse, 2 Rue de l'Université, Toulouse, Haute-Garonne.
Société de l'École Nationale des Chartes, 19 Rue de la Sorbonne, Paris
Société de l'Histoire de France, 60 Rue des Francs-Bourgeois, Paris.

GERMANY.

Deutsch-Ausländischer Buchtausch, Unter der Linden, 38, Berlin, N.W.7.
Hansischer Geschichtsverein, Staats Archiv, Königstrasse 21, Lübeck.

HOLLAND.

Commissie van Advies voor Rijks Geschied-kundige Publicatien, The Hague.
Historisch Genootschap, Utrecht.

NOVA SCOTIA.

The Nova Scotia Historical Society, Halifax.

POLAND.

Société des Sciences et des Lettres de Varsoire, Universitets, Lwow.

SPAIN.

Real Academia de la Historia, Calle del Leon 21, Madrid.

SWITZERLAND.

Allgemeine Geschichtsforschende Gesellschaft der Schweiz. Stadt Bibliothek, Berne.

UNITED STATES.

American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.
American Jewish Historical Society, 3080 Broadway, New York.
Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, Conn.
Illinois Historical Society, Springfield, Illinois.
Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
Maine Historical Society, Portland, Maine, U.S.A.
Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Md.
Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Mass.
New England Historic-Genealogical Society, 9 Ashburton Place, Boston, Mass.
New Jersey Historical Society, 16 West Park Street, Newark, N.J.
New Hampshire State Library, Concord, N.H.
New York Historical Society, 77 Street and Central Park West, New York.
Virginia Historical Society, 707 East Franklin Street, Richmond, Va.

The Council are not responsible for the accuracy of the foregoing list, but they request that any inaccuracy or omission may be pointed out to the Secretary, and that all changes of address may be notified to him, so that delay in forwarding communications and the Publications of the Society may be avoided.

TRANSACTIONS AND PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

1. TRANSACTIONS.

Transactions. Old Series 1872–1882. Vols. I to X † (vols. I, II and III *out of print*).

Transactions. New Series, 1884–1906. Vols. I to XX.
Third Series, 1907–1917. Vols. I to XI.
Fourth Series, 1918–1935. Vols. I to XVIII.
Domesday Studies, 2 vols. 1886. 24s.‡
Edited for the Domesday Commemoration Committee by P. E. Dove.

2. MISCELLANEOUS PUBLICATIONS.

OLD SERIES.

England and Napoleon in 1803. Being the Despatches of Lord Whitworth and others. Edited by Oscar Browning, M.A. 8vo. 1887. 7s. 6d.

Walter of Henley's Husbandry, together with an anonymous Husbandry, Seneschaucie, and Robert Grosseteste's Rules. Edited by E. Lamond and W. Cunningham, D.D., Litt.D. 4to. 1890. 12s.

The Domesday of Inclosures, 1517–1518. Edited by I. S. Leadam, M.A. 2 vols. 1897. 30s.

* These are only issued to Fellows, Associates, and Subscribing Libraries, but copies of the Magna Carta Commemoration Essays and the Repertory of English Archives will be supplied on application. The price of the current number of the *Transactions* is 15s. Back numbers, Fourth Series, 10s.; Third Series, 10s.; New Series, 10s.; Old Series, 7s. 6d.; except Fourth Series, Vol. 7; Third Series, Vol. 9; Old Series, Vols. 4, 5, 7, 9, 10. These can only be supplied by special leave of the Council. Applications together with the postage should be addressed to the Librarian, Royal Historical Society, 22 Russell Square, W.C.1.

† The earlier volumes of this Series were issued to Fellows in unbound parts. Any discrepancies in the lettering of bound volumes during this period are doubtless due to this circumstance.

‡ These two volumes and the two guides to the Domesday and Gibbon Commemorations referred to below were planned by the respective Commemoration committees and their publication was taken over by the Royal Historical Society. This Society is also responsible with the American Historical Society, for the publication by the Clarendon Press of a Bibliography of British Modern History in continuation of the late Chas. Gross's "Sources and Literature" for the medieval period, Volumes I and II from 1485 to 1714 have been issued at a reduced cost to Fellows of the Society, and Vol. III is nearly ready for the Press.

Bibliographies of the Right Hon. and Right Rev. Mandell Creighton, Bishop of London, the Right Rev. William Stubbs, Bishop of Oxford, Dr. S. R. Gardiner, and the Right Hon. John, Baron Acton. Edited by W. A. Shaw, Litt.D. 8vo. 1903. 5s.

Domesday Commemoration, 1886. Notes on the Manuscripts, etc., exhibited at H.M. Public Record Office. Vellum, 4to. 5s. per volume.

Gibbon Commemoration, 1894, Proceedings of the. Vellum, 4to. 5s.

Catalogue of the Library of the Royal Historical Society, 1915.

German Opinion and German Policy before the War. By G. W. Prothero, LL.D., Litt.D., F.B.A., V.-P. R.Hist.S. 1916. 4s.

Magna Carta Commemoration Essays. With Preface by the Right Hon. Viscount Bryce, O.M., F.B.A. Edited by H. E. Malden, M.A. 25s.

A Repertory of English Archives. Compiled by Hubert Hall, Litt.D., F.S.A., *Director*, assisted by Research Students of the University of London. 1920. 10s. 6d.

A List and Index of the Transactions and Publications of the Royal Historical Society (1869–1924) and of the Publications of the Camden Society (1840–1897). Edited by Hubert Hall, Litt.D., F.S.A., *Director*. 1925. 5s.

3. PUBLICATIONS OF THE LATE CAMDEN SOCIETY,

CONTINUED (FROM 1897) AS THE CAMDEN SERIES OF THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.†

OLD SERIES.

*1. Historie of the Arrivall of Edward IV. in England (1471). Edited by J. Bruce.

2. Kynge Johan. A Play in two Parts. By John Bale. Edited by J. P. Collier.

*3. Alliterative Poem on Deposition of Richard II.; Ricardi Madiston de Concordia inter. Ric. II. et Civitatem London. Edited by T. Wright.

*4. Plumpton Correspondence. Letters written in the reigns of Edward IV., Richard III., Henry VII., and Henry VIII. Edited by Stapleton.

*5. Anecdotes and Traditions, illustrative of Early English History and Literature. Edited by W. J. Thoms.

*6. The Political Songs of England, from the reign of John to Edward II. Edited and translated by T. Wright.

7. Annals of the First Four Years of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, by Sir J. Hayward. Edited by J. Bruce.

8. Ecclesiastical Documents: viz.—1. A Brief History of the Bishoprick of Somerset from its Foundation to 1174. 2. Charters from the Library of Dr. Cox Macro. Published by the Rev. J. Hunter.

*9. Speculi Britanniæ Pars: an historical and geographical Description of Essex, by John Norden, 1594. Edited by Sir H. Ellis.

*10. A Chronicle of the First Thirteen Years of the reign of Edward IV., by John Warkworth, D.D. Edited by J. O. Halliwell.

† These are only issued to Fellows and Subscribing Libraries whose subscriptions are fully paid. A few are out of print, and of some others which are marked with an asterisk, but a few copies remain, and these can only be supplied by special leave of the Council. The remainder may be had at the following prices:—

Old Series, from 6s.
New Series, from 7s. 6d.
Third Series, from 10s.
Current volumes, 15s. each.
Diplomatic Correspondence Series, Camden Third Series, vols. 32, 35, 36, 38, 39, 43, and 49, 17s. 6d. each.

Associates are entitled to purchase one copy of each at a reduction of 25 per cent.

Applications together with the postage should be addressed to the Librarian, Royal Historical Society, 22 Russell Square, London, W.C.1.

*11. Kemp's Nine Daies Wonder, performed in a Daunce from London to Norwich. Edited by Rev. A. Dyce.

12. The Egerton Papers. Temp. Elizabeth and James I. Edited by J. P. Collier. (*Out of print.*)

13. Chronica Jocelini de Brakelonda, de rebus gestis Samsonis Abbatis Monasterii Sancti Edmundi. Edited by J. G. Rokewode. (*Out of print.*)

*14. Narratives of the Contests in Ireland in 1641 and 1690. Edited by T. C. Croker.

15. The Chronicle of William de Rishanger, of the Barons' Wars, and the Miracles of Simon de Montfort. Edited by J. O. Halliwell.

16. The Latin Poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes. Edited by T. Wright. (*Out of print.*)

17. The Second Book of the Travels of Nicander Nucius, of Corcyra. Edited by Rev. J. A. Cramer.

18. Three Early English Metrical Romances. Edited by J. Robson.

19. The Private Diary of Dr. John Dee, and the Catalogue of his Library of Manuscripts. Edited by J. O. Halliwell.

*20. An Apology for Lollard Doctrines, attributed to Wicliffe. Edited by J. H. Todd.

21. Rutland Papers. Original Documents illustrative of the Courts and Times of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. Edited by W. Jerdan.

22. The Diary of Dr. Thomas Cartwright, Bishop of Chester, from August, 1686, to October, 1687. Printed from the original MS. of the Rev. J. Hunter.

23. Original Letters of Eminent Literary Men of the Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. Edited by Sir H. Ellis.

24. A Contemporary Narrative of the Proceedings against Dame Alice Kyteler, prosecuted for Sorcery in 1324, by Richard de Ledrede, Bishop of Ossory. Edited by T. Wright.

*25. Promptorium Parvulorum sive Clericorum, Lexicon Anglo-Latinum Princeps auctore fratre Galfrido Grammatico dicto, e Predicatoribus Lenne Episcopi, Northfolciensi, A.D. circa 1440. Edited by A. Way. Part I. (*See* Nos. 54 and 89.)

26. Three Chapters of Letters relating to the Suppression of Monasteries. Edited by T. Wright. (*Out of print.*)

27. Correspondence of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leycester, 1585 and 1586. Edited by J. Bruce.

28. The French Chronicle of London. Depuis l'an 44 Hen. III. jusqu'à l'an 17 Edw. III. Edited by G. J. Aungier.

29. Three Books of Polydore Vergil's English History, comprising the Reigns of Henry VI., Edward IV., and Richard III. Edited by Sir H. Ellis.

30. The Thornton Romances. The Early English Metrical Romances of Perceval, Isumbras, Eglamour, and Degravant. Edited by J. O. Halliwell.

31. Verney Papers. Notes of Proceedings in the Long Parliament, temp. Charles I. Edited by J. Bruce.

32. The Autobiography of Sir John Bramston, K.B., of Skreens, in the Hundred of Chelmsford. Printed from the MS. of T. W. Bramston.

33. Letters from James, Earl of Perth, Lord Chancellor of Scotland, etc., to his Sister the Countess of Erroll, and other members of his Family. Edited by W. Jerdan.

34. De Antiquis Legibus Liber. Cronica Maiorum et Vicecomitum Londoniarum, 1178 to 1274. By T. Stapleton.

35. The Chronicle of Calais, in the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII., to 1540. Edited by J. G. Nichols.

36. Polydore Vergil's English History, prior to the Norman Conquest. Edited by Sir H. Ellis.

37. A Relation, or rather a True Account, of the Isle of England, about 1500. Translated from the Italian by Charlotte Augusta Sneyd.

38. Documents relative to the Foundation and Antiquities of the Collegiate Church of Middleham, Co. York, and notices of the Castle and Town. Edited by Rev. W. Atthill.

39. The Camden Miscellany. Vol. I.: 1. Register and Chronicle of the Abbey of Aberconway. Edited by Sir H. Ellis. 2. Chronicle of the Rebellion in Lincolnshire, 1470. Edited by J. G. Nichols. 3. Bull of Pope Innocent VIII., on the Marriage of Henry VII. with Elizabeth of York. Communicated by J. P. Collier. 4. Journal of the Siege of Rouen, 1591. By Sir T. Coningsby. Edited by J. G. Nichols. 5. Letter from George Fleetwood to his Father, giving an account of the Battle of Lutzen. Edited by Sir P. de Malpas Grey Egerton, Bart. 6. Diary of Dr. Edward Lake, Archdeacon and Prebendary of Exeter, etc., in 1677 and 1678. Edited by G. P. Elliott.

40. A Commentary of the Services and Charges of William Lord Grey of Wilton, by his son Arthur Lord Grey of Wilton. Edited by Sir P. de Malpas Grey Egerton, Bart.

41. Diary of Walter Yonge, Justice of the Peace, and M.P. for Honiton, 1604 to 1628. Edited by G. Roberts.

42. The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant Taylor of London, from 1550 to 1563. Edited by J. G. Nichols.

43. The Visitation of the County of Huntingdon under the authority of William Camden, Clarenceux King of Arms, 1613. Edited by Sir H. Ellis.

44. The Obituary of Richard Smyth, Secondary of the Poultry Compter, London, 1627 to 1674. Edited by Sir H. Ellis.

45. Certaine Considerations upon the Government of England. By Sir Roger Twysden, Kt. and Bart. Edited by J. M. Kemble.

46. Letters of Queen Elizabeth and James VI. of Scotland. Edited by J Bruce.

47. Chronicon Petroburgense. Edited by T. Stapleton.

48. The Chronicle of Queen Jane, and two years of Queen Mary. Edited by J. G. Nichols.

49. Wills and Inventories, from the Registers of the Commissary of Bury St. Edmunds and the Archdeacon of Sudbury. Edited by S. Tymms.

50. Gualteri Mapes de Nugis Curialium Distinctiones quinque. Edited by T. Wright.

51. The Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde to the Holy Land, 1506. Edited by Sir H. Ellis.

52. Moneys received and paid for Secret Services of Charles II. and James II., 1679 to 1688. Edited by J. Y. Akerman.

53. Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London. Edited by J. G. Nichols. (*Out of print.*)

54. Promptorium Parvulorum. Vol. II. (*See* Nos. 25 and 89.)

55. The Camden Miscellany. Vol. II.: 1. Account of the Expenses of John of Brabant and Henry and Thomas of Lancaster, 1292–3. Edited by J. Burtt. 2. Household Expenses of the Princess Elizabeth at Hatfield, 1551–2. Edited by Viscount Strangford. 3. The Request and Suite of a True-hearted Englishman written by William Cholmley, Londyner, in 1553. Edited by W. J. Thoms. 4. The Discovery of the Jesuits' College in Clerkenwell in March, 1627–8. Edited by J. G. Nichols. 5. Trelawny Papers. Edited by W. D. Cooper. 6. Autobiography and Anecdotes, by William Taswell, D.D. Edited by G. P. Elliott. (*Out of print.*)

56. Letters and Papers of the Verney Family, to the end of 1639. Edited by J. Bruce. (*Out of print.*)

57. The Ancren Riwle. Rules and duties of Monastic Life. Edited by J. Morton, B.D. (*Out of print.*)

58. Letters of the Lady Brilliana Harley. Edited by T. T. Lewis.

59. Household Expenses of Richard de Swinfield, Bishop of Hereford, 1289–90. (*See* No. 62.)

60. Grants, etc., from the Crown during the reign of Edward V. and two Speeches for opening Parliament, by John Russell, Bishop of Lincoln, Lord Chancellor. Edited by J. G. Nichols.

61. The Camden Miscellany. Vol. III.: 1. Papers relating to Proceedings in Co. Kent, 1642–1646. Edited by R. Almack. 2. Ancient Biographical Poems, on the Duke of Norfolk, Viscount Hereford, the Earl of Essex, and Queen Elizabeth. Edited by J. P. Collier. 3. A Relation of some Abuses which are committed against the Common-Wealth, 1629. Edited by Sir F. Madden, K.H. 4. Inventories of the Wardrobes, etc., of Henry FitzRoy, Duke of Richmond. And of Katherine, Princess Dowager at Baynard's Castle. Edited by J. G. Nichols.

62. Household Book of Bishop Swinfield. Vol. II. (*See* No. 59.)

63. Letters of Charles I. to Queen Henrietta Maria. Edited by J. Bruce.

64. An English Chronicle of the reigns of Richard II., Henry IV., Henry V., and Henry VI. Edited by Rev. J. S. Davies, M.A.

65. The Knights Hospitallers of England, 1338. Edited by Rev. L. B. Larking, M.A.

66. Diary of John Rous, Incumbent of Santon Downham, Suffolk, from 1625 to 1642. Edited by Mary Anne E. Green.

67. Trevelyan Papers prior to 1558. Edited by J. P. Collier. Part I. (*See* Nos. 84 and 105.)

68. Journal of the Very Rev. Rowland Davies, LL.D., Dean of Ross 1688–1690. Edited by R. Caulfield, B.A.

69. The Domesday of St. Paul's, 1222; or Registrum de Visitatione Maneriorum per Robertum Decanum, etc. Edited by W. H. Hale.

70. Liber Famelicus of James Whitelocke, a Judge of the King's Bench in the reigns of James I. and Charles I. Edited by J. Bruce.

71. Savile Correspondence. Temp. Charles II. and James II. Edited by W. D. Cooper.

72. The Romance of Blonde of Oxford and Jehan of Dammartin. By Philippe de Reimes, a Trouvère of the Thirteenth Century. Edited by M. Le Roux de Lincy.

73. The Camden Miscellany. Vol. IV.: 1. A London Chronicle during the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. Edited by C. Hopper. 2. The Expenses of the Judges of Assize riding in the Western and Oxford Circuits, 1596–1601. Edited by W. D. Cooper. 3. The Skryvener's Play, The Incredulity of St. Thomas. Edited by J. P. Collier. 4. The Childe of Bristowe, a Poem by John Lydgate. Edited by C. Hopper. 5. Sir Edw. Lake's Account of his Interviews with Charles I. on being created a Baronet. Edited by T. P. Langmead. 6. The Letters of Pope to Atterbury, when in the Tower of London. Edited by J. G. Nichols. 7. Supplementary Note to the Discovery of the Jesuits' College in March, 1627–8. Edited by J. G. Nichols.

74. Diary of the Marches of the Royal Army during the great Civil War, kept by Ric. Symonds. Edited by C. E. Long.

75. Original Papers illustrative of the Life and Writings of John Milton. Edited by W. D. Hamilton.

76. Letters of George Lord Carew to Sir Thomas Roe, Ambassador to the Court of the Great Mogul, 1615–1617. Edited by J. Maclean.

77. Narratives of the Days of the Reformation. Edited by J. G. Nichols.

78. Correspondence of James VI. of Scotland with Sir Robert Cecil and others in England, temp. Elizabeth. Edited by J. Bruce.

79. Letters written by John Chamberlain during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Edited by Sarah Williams.

80. Proceedings, principally in Co. Kent, in connection with the Parliaments called in 1640. Edited by Rev. L. B. Larking.

81. Parliamentary Debates in 1610. Edited by S. R. Gardiner, LL.D.

82. Lists of Foreign Protestants, and Aliens, resident in England, 1618–1688. Edited by W. D. Cooper.

83. Wills from Doctors' Commons, 1495–1695. Edited by J. G. Nichols.

84. Trevelyan Papers. Part II. 1446–1643. Edited by J. P. Collier. (*See* Nos. 67 and 105.)

85. The Life of Marmaduke Rawdon of York. Edited by R. Davies.

86. Letters of Queen Margaret of Anjou and Bishop Beckington, and others. Temp. Henry V. and Henry VI. Edited by C. Monro.

87. The Camden Miscellany. Vol. V.: 1. Five Letters of Charles II. Communicated by the Marquis of Bristol. 2. Letter of the Council to Sir Thomas Lake. 3. Documents relating to Sir Walter Raleigh's last voyage. Communicated by S. R. Gardiner. 4. A Catalogue of Early English Miscellanies formerly in the Harleian Library. Edited by W. C. Hazlitt. 5. Letters selected from the collection of Autographs in the possession of William Tite, Esq. 6. Sir Francis Drake's Memorable Service done against the Spaniards in 1587. By Robert Leng, one of his co-adventurers. Edited by C. Hopper. 7. Inquiry into the Genuineness of a Letter dated February 3rd, 1613, signed "Mary Magdaline Davers." (*Out of print.*)

88. Letters from Sir Robert Cecil to Sir George Carew. Edited by J. Maclean.

89. Promptorium Parvulorum. Part III. (*Out of print.*) (*See* Nos. 25 and 54.)

90. Letters and other Documents illustrating the Relations between England and Germany at the commencement of the Thirty Years' War. Edited by S. R. Gardiner, LL.D. (*See* No. 98.)

91. Registrum sive Liber Irrotularius et Consuetudinarius Prioratus Beatæ Mariæ Wigorniensis. By W. H. Hale.

92. Pope Alexander VII. and the College of Cardinals. By John Bargrave, D.D. Edited by J. C. Robertson.

93. Accounts and Papers relating to Mary Queen of Scots. Edited by A. J. Crosby and J. Bruce.

94. History from Marble. Compiled in the reign of Charles II. by Thomas Dingley. Printed in Photolithography by Vincent Brooks. Edited by J. G. Nichols. Vol. I. (*See* No. 97.)

95. Manipulus Vocabulorum. A Dictionary of English and Latin Words, by Peter Devins, 1570. Edited by H. B. Wheatley.

96. Journal of a Voyage into the Mediterranean, by Sir Kenelm Digby, 1628. Edited by J. Bruce.

97. History from Marble. Vol. II. (*See* No. 94.)

98. Letters and other Documents illustrating the relations between England and Germany at the commencement of the Thirty Years' War. Second Series. Edited by S. R. Gardiner, LL.D. (*See* No. 90.)

99. Diary of John Manningham. 1602–3. Edited by W. Tite.

100. Notes of the Treaty carried on at Ripon between Charles I. and the Covenanters of Scotland, 1640, taken by Sir John Borough, Garter King of Arms. Edited by J. Bruce.

101. El hecho de los Tratados del Matrimonio pretendido por el Principe de Gales con la serenissima Infanta de España Maria, etc. Narrative of the Spanish Marriage Treaty. Edited and translated by S. R. Gardiner, LL.D.

102. Churchwardens' Accounts of the Town of Ludlow, in Shropshire, from 1540 to the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Edited by T. Wright.

103. Notes of the Debates of the House of Lords. By Henry Elsing, Clerk of the Parliament, 1621. Edited by S. R. Gardiner.

104. The Camden Miscellany. Vol. VI.: 1. Life of William Whittingham, Dean of Durham. Edited by Mary Anne E. Greene. 2. The Earl of Bristol's Defence of his Negotiations in Spain. Edited by S. R. Gardiner, LL.D. Journal of Sir Francis Walsingham, December, 1570, to April, 1583. Edited by C. T. Martin.

105. Trevelyan Papers. Part III. Edited by Sir Walter and Sir Charles Trevelyan. (*See* Nos. 67 and 84.)

NEW SERIES.

Vol. 56 onwards were issued after the amalgamation of the two Societies.

1. The Fortescue Papers, principally consisting of letters on State affairs, collected by John Packer, Secretary to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. Edited by S. R. Gardiner, LL.D. Consists chiefly of a miscellaneous collection of letters which were apparently thrown aside by the Duke of Buckingham after he had read them. One Paper is of peculiar importance as relating to Raleigh's trial.

2. Letters and Papers of John Shillingford, Mayor of Exeter, A.D. 1447–1450. Edited by Stuart A. Moore. Valuable as throwing light on the practical working of our institutions and the administration of the law in the reign of Henry VI.

3. The Cheque Book of the Chapel Royal from the Reign of Elizabeth to the Accession of the House of Hanover. Edited by Dr. Rimbault. Full of notices of English Musicians connected with the Chapel, and of minute particulars of royal ceremonies, funerals, coronations, churchings, baptisms, marriages, etc. (*Out of print.*)

4. A True Relation of the Life and Death of William Bedell, Lord Bishop of Kilmore. Edited by Thomas Wharton Jones, F.R.S. Interesting not only for the light it throws on the working of the Church of Ireland at a most important period in its history, but also for the personal character of Bishop Bedell himself.

5. The Mayor of Bristol's Calendar, by Robert Ricart, Town Clerk of Bristol, temp. Edward IV. Edited by L. Toulmin Smith. Illustrative of municipal antiquities. (*Out of print.*)

6. Notes of Debates in the House of Commons in 1625. Edited from a MS. in the Library of Sir Rainald Knightley, Bart., by S. R. Gardiner, LL.D. Throws additional light on the quarrel between Charles I, and the House of Commons, and contains new facts relating to Sir John Eliot.

7. A Military Memoir of Colonel Birch, Governor of Hereford during the Civil War. Edited by the late Rev. John Webb, M.A., F.S.A., and the Rev. T. W. Webb, M.A. A storehouse of curious facts relating to the period of the Civil War.

8 and 9. Letters addressed from London to Sir Joseph Williamson while Plenipotentiary at the Congress of Cologne in the year 1673. Edited by W. D. Christie, C.B. Two vols. Full of news from the Court of Charles II.

10. Account of the Executors of Richard, Bishop of London, 1303, and of the Executors of Thomas, Bishop of Exeter, 1310. Edited by the late Venerable W. H. Hale, M.A., and the Rev. H. T. Ellacombe, M.A., F.S.A. Full of curious details on the household and ecclesiastical furniture of a bishop of the fourteenth century.

11. Wriothesley's Chronicle of English Affairs from the Accession of Henry VII. to the First Year of Queen Elizabeth. Edited from a MS. in the possession of Major-Gen. Lord Henry Percy, by W. D. Hamilton, F.S.A. Two vols. Contains particulars not in other chronicles of the period. The Editor has printed in an Appendix to the First Volume the records of the trial of Anne Boleyn. (*See* No. 20.)

12. Documents relating to the Quarrel between the Earl of Manchester and Oliver Cromwell; with Fragments of a Historical Preface by the late J. Bruce. Annotated and completed by Professor Masson. Gives information about the proceedings of Manchester and Cromwell from the battle of Marston Moor till after the second battle of Newbury, and also the arguments on both sides of the dispute which ensued.

13. Autobiography of Lady Halket, in the reigns of Charles I. and Charles II. Edited by the late John Gough Nichols, F.S.A. The subject is a pious lady of the days of the Commonwealth and the Restoration.

14. The Camden Miscellany, Vol. VII., containing: 1. Two Sermons preached by the Boy-Bishop. Edited by the late J. G. Nichols. With an Introduction by Dr. Rimbault. 2. Speech of Sir Robert Heath in the case of Alexander Leighton. Edited by S. R. Gardiner, with a Preface by the late J. Bruce. 3. Notes of Sir G. Croke's Judgment in the case of Ship Money. Edited by S. R. Gardiner. 4. Letters relating to the Mission of Sir T. Roe to Gustavus Adolphus, 1629–1630. Edited by S. R. Gardiner. 5. Accounts of the Expenditure in building Bodmin Church. Edited by the Rev. J. J. Wilkinson, M.A., Rector of Lanteglos.

15. Letters of Dean Prideaux. Edited by E. Maunde Thompson. The letters contain amusing descriptions of life at Oxford and in the country at the close of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century.

16. Milton's Common Place Book. Edited by A. J. Horwood. It is unnecessary to point out the interest of Milton's notes and jottings on a variety of subjects, political, social, moral, and literary.

17. Historical Collections of a London Citizen in the Fifteenth Century. Edited by James Gairdner. Printed from a MS. The poem is a very graphic original account of the siege of Rouen by Henry V. The chronicle is unique, ending in the middle of Edward IV.'s reign.

18. Papers relating to the life of William Prynne, with the Fragment of a Biographical Preface by the late J. Bruce. Edited by S. R. Gardiner, LL.D.

19. Christ Church Letters relating to the Priory of Christ Church, Canterbury. Edited by J. B. Sheppard. Mostly of the fifteenth century, and some of political importance, relating to embassies, etc.

20. Wriothesley's Chronicle. Vol. II. (*See* No. 11.)

21. Harpsfield's Treatise of the Pretended Divorce between Henry VIII. and Catherine of Aragon. Edited by the Rev. N. Pocock. An early authority for many facts hitherto considered questionable concerning Henry VIII.'s reign, which are now more generally accepted than they were.

22. Correspondence of the Family of Hatton, 1601–1704. Vol. I. Edited by E. M. Thompson. Full of news and gossip. May be taken as a fair sample of the correspondence of a family of the higher classes in the seventeenth century. (*See* No. 23.)

23. The Hatton Correspondence. Vol. II. (*See* No. 22.)

24. Notes of the Debates in the House of Lords officially taken by H. Elsing, 1624 and 1626. Edited by S. R. Gardiner, LL.D.

25. The Œconomy of the Fleete. Edited by Dr. A. Jessopp. An account of the state of the Fleet Prison in the time of James I.

26. Documents relating to St. Paul's Cathedral. Edited by the Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson, D.D., F.S.A. Ranging from the thirteenth to the beginning of the eighteenth century.

27. The Hamilton Papers, 1638–1648. Edited from the Originals at Hamilton Palace by S. R. Gardiner, LL.D. Important for the history both of England and of Scotland during that troubled period.

28. Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles. Edited by James Gairdner. (*Out of print.*)

29. The Puritan Visitation of the University of Oxford. Edited by Professor Montagu Burrows, F.S.A.

30. Catholicon Anglicum. Edited by Sidney J. Herrtage. A Mediæval Latin Glossary of great interest from a philological point of view.

31. The Camden Miscellany, Vol. VIII., containing: 1. Four letters of the Earl of Stafford, and a Poem on his illness. Edited by S. R. Gardiner, LL.D. 2. Memoir by Madame de Motteville on the Life of Henrietta Maria. Edited by M. G. Hanotaux. 3. Papers relating to the Delinquency of Thomas Viscount Saville, 1642–1646; Five Letters from Richard Thompson to his brother Henry Thompson, of Escrick, afterwards M.P. for York. Edited by J. J. Cartwright, M.A. 4. Papers relating to Secret Negotiations with Charles I., 1643–1644. Edited by Mrs. B. M. Gardiner. 5. A Letter from

the Earl of Manchester on the conduct of Cromwell; Letters addressed to the Earl of Lauderdale. Edited by Osmund Airy. Letters of the Duke of Monmouth. Edited by Sir George Duckett, Bart. Correspondence of the Family of Haddock, 1657–1719. Edited by Edward Maunde Thompson.

32. The Voyage to Cadiz in 1625. Edited by Dr. Grosart.

33. Diary and Letter Book of Gabriel Harvey, 1573–1580. Edited by Edward J. L. Scott, M.A. Throws light upon University life at Cambridge in the age of Elizabeth.

34. Selections from the Papers of the Duke of Lauderdale, temp. Car. II. Edited by Osmund Airy. Three Volumes. Vol. I. 1639–1667. Vol. II. 1667–1673. Vol. III. 1673–1679. Illustrative of the period of the Restoration in Scotland.

35. Political Memoranda of the Fifth Duke of Leeds. Edited by Oscar Browning, M.A.

36. The Lauderdale Papers. Vol. II. 1667–73. (*See* Nos. 34 and 38.)

37. Papers relating to issue of the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. Edited by the Rev. N. Pocock.

38. The Lauderdale Papers. Vol. III. 1673–79. (*See* Nos. 34 and 36.)

39. Proceedings in the Star Chamber and Court of High Commission in the year 1632. Edited by S. R. Gardiner, LL.D.

40. The Correspondence of Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State, and of his son, Sir John Nicholas, Clerk to the Privy Council, Vol. I. Edited by George F. Warner, M.A. Supplementary to correspondence printed in Evelyn's Diary, with matter relating to the Court of Charles II. during his exile. (*See* Nos. 50, 57, and Third Series, No. 31.)

41. Custumals of Battle Abbey, temp. Edward I., from a Manuscript in the Public Record Office. Edited by S. R. Scargill Bird, F.S.A. Throws light on the tenure of land and manorial customs in the thirteenth century.

42. Bishop Pococke's Travels in England in 1750, etc. Edited by James J. Cartwright, M.A. Vol. I. (*See* No. 44.)

43. Monastic Visitations in the Diocese of Norwich. Edited by the Rev. Augustus Jessopp, D.D. These visitations show the state of monastic life in the diocese of Norwich on the eve of the Reformation.

44. Bishop Pococke's Travels in England. Vol. II. (*See* No. 42.)

45. Papers relating to the Impeachment of the Duke of Buckingham in 1626. Edited by S. R. Gardiner, LL.D.

46. Memoirs relating to Lord Torrington. Edited by John Knox Laughton, M.A., R.N. Illustrative of naval affairs in the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century.

47. The Essex Papers. Vol. I. Edited by Osmund Airy. Contains new matter relating to the Court of Charles II. and to the government of Ireland in his reign. (*See* Third Series, No. 24.)

48. Visitations of the Collegiate Church of Southwell. Edited by A. F. Leach, M.A., F.S.A. A set of visitations differing in character from those in No. 43, and most important to a complete study of clerical life in pre-Reformation times.

49. The Clarke Papers. Vol. I. Edited by C. H. Firth, M.A. More important for the life of Cromwell than any book published since the well-known work of Carlyle. (*See* Nos. 54, 61 and 62.) (*Out of print.*)

50. The Nicholas Papers. Vol. II. (*See* Nos. 40, 57, and Third Series, No. 31.)

51. Accounts of the Obedientiars of Abingdon Abbey. Edited by R. E. G. Kirk.

52. Wardrobe Accounts of Henry Earl of Derby (afterwards Henry IV.). Edited by Miss Toulmin Smith, with the co-operation of the Historical Society of East Prussia.

53. The Camden Miscellany, Vol. IX., containing: 1. Visitations of Churches in the Patronage of St. Paul's Cathedral. Edited by the Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson, D.D. 2. "The Spousells" of the Princess Mary, daughter of Henry VII., in 1508. Edited by James Gairdner. 3. Original Letters from the Bishops to the Privy Council in 1564. Edited by Miss Mary Bateson. 4. Papers relating to Thomas Wentworth, First Earl of Strafford. Edited by C. H. Firth, M.A. 5. Hamilton Papers, Addenda. Edited by S. R. Gardiner, LL.D. 6. Memoirs of Nathaniel, Lord Crewe. Edited by the Rev. Andrew Clark. 7. The Journal of Major Richard Ferrier, M.P., during a tour in France in 1687. Edited by Richard F. E. and John A. H. Ferrier. (*Out of print.*)

54. The Clarke Papers. Vol. II. (*Out of print.*) (*See* Nos. 49, 61 and 62.)

55. Visitations of Churches belonging to St. Paul's Cathedral in 1297 and in 1458. Edited by W. Sparrow Simpson, D.D., F.S.A. (*Out of print.*)

56. The Archpriest Controversy. Vol. I. Documents relating to the dissensions of the Roman Catholic Clergy, 1597–1602. Edited from the Petyt MSS., by T. G. Law. (*See* No. 58.)

57. Nicholas Papers. Vol. III. (*See* Nos. 40 and 50, and Third Series, No. 31.)

58. The Archpriest Controversy. Vol. II. Edited by T. G. Law. (*See* No. 56.)

59. The Political Correspondence of the Duke of Newcastle, 1765–1767. Edited by Miss Mary Bateson.

60. The Narrative of General Venables, and other Papers relating to the Jamaica Expedition, 1655. Edited by C. H. Firth, M.A.

61. The Clarke Papers. Vol. III. (*See* Nos. 49, 54 and 62.)

62. The Clarke Papers. Vol. IV. (*See* Nos. 49, 54, and 61.)

THIRD SERIES.

1. The Cely Papers: a Correspondence between Merchants of the Staple in London and Calais, 1477–1487. Edited by H. E. Malden, M.A.
2. The Despatches and Correspondence of John 2nd Earl of Buckinghamshire, Ambassador to the Court of Catherine II., 1762–1765. Vol. I. Edited from the originals in the Foreign Office and in family MSS., by Mrs. D'Arcy Collyer. (*See* No. 3.)
3. The Earl of Buckinghamshire's Correspondence. Vol. II. (*See* No. 2.)
4. The Camden Miscellany, Vol. X., containing: 1. The Journal of Roger Wilbraham, Master of Requests, temp. Elizabeth and James I. Edited by H. Spencer Scott. 2. The Diary of Sir Philip Hoby, 1547–1560. Edited by Edgar Powell. 3. Prince Rupert at Lisbon. Edited by the late S. R. Gardiner, D.C.L.
5. The Diplomatic Correspondence of William Perwich from Paris, 1669–1677. Edited from the Foreign State Papers by Miss M. B. Curran, M.A.
6. Collectanea Anglo-Premonstratensia. Edited from the Bodleian and Additional MSS., by the Right Rev. F. A. Gasquet, D.D. Vol. I. (*See* Nos. 10 and 12.)
7. Despatches relating to the Third Coalition against Napoleon, 1804–1805. Edited from the Foreign Office Correspondence, by J. H. Rose, Litt.D.
8. Records of the Presbyterian Movement in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Edited by Roland G. Usher, Ph.D., Harvard.
9. The State Trials of 1289–1290. Edited from the unpublished Records, by Professor T. F. Tout, M.A., and Miss Hilda Johnstone, M.A.
10. Collectanea Anglo-Premonstratensia. Vol. II. (*See* Nos. 6 and 12.)
11. The Records of the Eastland Company preserved at York. Edited by Miss Maud Sellers.
12. Collectanea Anglo-Premonstratensia. Vol. III. (*See* Nos. 6 and 10.)
13. The Camden Miscellany, Vol. XI., containing: 1. Some unpublished Letters of Gilbert Burnet, the Historian. Edited by Miss H. C. Foxcroft. 2. Extracts from the Papers of Thomas Woodcock (ob. 1695). Edited by G. C. Moore Smith, M.A. 3. The Memoirs of Sir George Courthop (1616–1685). Edited by Mrs. S. C. Lomas, F.R.Hist.S. 4. The Commonwealth Charter of the City of Salisbury [12] September 1656. Edited by Hubert Hall, F.S.A.
14. The Relation of the Campaign in Germany (1624–36), by Sydnam Poyntz. Edited from the MS. in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, by the Rev. A. T. S. Goodrick, M.A., formerly Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford.
15. The Diary of the Rev. Ralph Josselin (1616–1683). Edited by E. Hockliffe, M.A.
16. Despatches from Paris, 1784–1789. Edited from the Foreign Office Correspondence, by Oscar Browning, M.A. Vol. I., 1784–1787. (*See* No. 19.)

17. The Bardon Papers: Proceedings against Mary Queen of Scots in 1586. Edited by Conyers Reed, A.M. (Harvard), B.Litt. (Oxon.).

18. The Camden Miscellany, Vol. XII., containing: 1. Two London Chronicles from the collection of John Stow. Edited by C. L. Kingsford, M.A., F.S.A. 2. Life of Sir John Digby (1605–1645). Edited by Georges Benard, L.-ès-L. 3. Iter Bellicosum: Adam Wheeler, his Account of 1685. Edited by H. E. Malden, M.A. 4. Common Rights at Cottenham and Stretham in Cambridgeshire. Edited by W. Cunningham D.D., F.B.A.

19. Despatches from Paris. Vol. II., 1787–1789. (*See* No. 16.)

20. John of Gaunt's "Register." Edited from the original MSS. in the Public Record Office, by Sidney Armitage-Smith, M.A. Vol. I. (*See* No. 21.)

21. John of Gaunt's "Register." Vol. II. (*See* No. 20.)

22. The Official Diary of Lieutenant-General Adam Williamson, Deputy-Lieutenant of the Tower of London, 1722–1747. Edited by J. C. Fox, Master of the Supreme Court of Judicature.

23. English Merchants and the Spanish Inquisition in the Canaries. Edited by Miss L. de Alberti and Miss A. B. Wallis Chapman, D.Sc.

24. The Essex Papers, 1675–1677. Vol. II. Edited by the Rev. Clement E. Pike. (*See* New Series, No. 47.)

25. The Chronicle of Novgorod, 1016–1471. Translated and Edited by Robert Mitchell, Nevill Forbes, M.A., and C. Raymond Beazley, D.Litt.

26. The Stiffkey Papers; the official papers of Sir Nathaniel Bacon of Stiffkey, Norfolk, 1580–1620. Edited by W. H. Saunders, M.A. (*See* No. 52.)

27. Henry of Bray's Estate Book (Harleston, Northants), 1289–1340. Edited by Miss Dorothy Willis.

*28. Memoirs of the Families of Guise and Raymond (Seventeenth-Eighteenth Centuries). Edited by G. Davies, M.A.

29. The Stonor Family and other Mediæval Papers (Fourteenth–Fifteenth Centuries). Vol. I. Edited by C. L. Kingsford, M.A., F.S.A. (*See* Nos. 30 and 34.) (*Out of print.*)

30. The Stonor Papers. Vol. II. (*See* Nos. 29 and 34.) (*Out of print.*)

31. The Nicholas Papers, Vol. IV. Edited by Sir G. F. Warner, D.Litt., F.B.A. (*See* New Series, Nos. 40, 50, 57.)

32. British Diplomatic Instructions: Vol. I. Sweden, Part i. (1689–1727). Edited by J. F. Chance, M.A.

33. Parliamentary Papers of John Robinson (1774–1784). Edited by Professor W. T. Laprade, Ph.D.

34. The Camden Miscellany, Vol. XIII., containing: 1. Gesta Dunelmensia, A.D. M°CCC°. Edited by Professor R. K. Richardson, Ph.D. 2. Supplementary Stonor Letters and Papers (1314–1482). Edited by C. L. Kingsford, M.A., F.S.A. 3. Richard Broughton's Devereux Papers (1575–1601). Edited by H. E. Malden, M.A. 4. The Voy-

ages of Captain William Jackson (1642–1645). Edited by V. T. Harlow, B.A., B.Litt. 5. The English Conquest of Jamaica (1655–1656). Edited by Irene A. Wright, B.A.

35. British Diplomatic Instructions. Vol. II. France, Part i. (1689-1721). Edited by L. G. Wickham Legg, M.A.

36. British Diplomatic Instructions. Vol. III. Denmark (1689–1789). Edited by J. F. Chance, M.A.

37. The Camden Miscellany, Vol. XIV., containing : 1. Plan of St. Domingo. Narrative of the English Attack on St. Domingo (1655). Translated and edited by Irene A. Wright, B.A. 2. Embajada Española. Translated and edited by the Rev. H. J. Chaytor, M.A. 3. The Will of Peter de Aqua Blanca, Bishop of Hereford (1268). Edited by the Rev. Canon C. Eveleigh Woodruff, M.A. 4. The Ransom of John I, King of France 1360–1370. Edited by Dorothy M. Broome, M.A. 5. Historia Mirabilis Parliamenti (1386). Edited by May McKisack, M.A., B.Litt.

38. British Diplomatic Instructions. Vol. IV. France, Part ii. (1721–1727). Edited by L. G. Wickham Legg, M.A. (*See* No. 35.)

39. British Diplomatic Instructions. Vol. V. Sweden, Part ii. (1727–1789). Edited by J. F. Chance, M.A. (*See* No. 32.)

40. The Life of Wulfstan. Edited from the original MSS. by R. R. Darlington, B.A.

41. The Camden Miscellany, Vol. XV., containing : 1. A Transcript of " The Red Book " of the Bishopric of Hereford (c. 1290). Edited by the Rev. Canon A. T. Bannister, M.A., F.S.A. 2. Edward II, The Lords Ordainers, and Piers Gaveston's Jewels and Horses (1312–1313). Edited by R. A. Roberts. 3. Table of Canterbury Archbishopric Charters. Edited by Irene J. Churchill. 4. An Early Admiralty Case (A.D. 1361). Edited by Charles Johnson, M.A., F.S.A. 5. Select Tracts and Table Books relating to English Weights and Measures (1100–1742). Edited by Hubert Hall, Litt.D., F.S.A., and Frieda J. Nicholas, M.A., F.S.S. 6. An English Prisoner in Paris during the Terror (1793–1794). Edited by V. T. Harlow, M.A., B.Litt.

42. Henry Elsing's Notes of the Debates in the House of Lords, 1626–1628. Edited by Professor F. W. Relf, Ph.D.

43. British Diplomatic Instructions. Vol. VI. France. Part iii. (1727–1744). Edited by L. G. Wickham Legg, M.A. (*See* Nos. 35 and 38.)

44. Private Correspondence of Chesterfield and Newcastle, 1744–1746. Edited by Sir Richard Lodge, LL.D., Litt.D.

45. General and Provincial Chapters of the English Black Monks. Vol. I (1215–1540). Edited by W. A. Pantin, M.A. (*See* No. 47.)

46. British Diplomatic Representatives, 1689–1789. Edited by D. B. Horn, M.A., D.Litt. (*See* No. 50.)

47. General and Provincial Chapters of the English Black Monks. Vol. II (1215–1540). (*See* No. 45.)

48. Diplomatic Correspondence of Richard II. (1377–1399). Edited by Edouard Perroy, D.-ès-Lettres.

49. British Diplomatic Instructions. Vol. VII. France. Part iv. (1744–1789). Edited by L. G. Wickham Legg, M.A. (*See* Nos. 35, 38 and 43.)

50. British Diplomatic Representatives, 1789–1852. Edited by S. T. Bindoff, M.A., Miss Malcolm Smith, M.A., and Professor C. K. Webster, M.A., F.B.A. (*See* No. 46.)

51. Rotuli Parliamentorum Anglie hactenus inediti (1279–1373). Edited by H. G. Richardson, M.A., B.Sc., and G. O. Sayles, M.A., D.Litt.

52. Camden Miscellany, Vol. XVI., containing : 1. Thos. Sherley's Journal (Constantinople, etc.), 1602–1605. Edited by Sir E. Denison Ross, C.I.E., D.Litt. 2. Survey of the Counties of England, 1635. Edited by L. G. Wickham Legg, M.A. 3. Inventory of Sir John Eliot's goods, 1632, by Professor Harold Hulme, Ph.D. 4. Supplementary Stiffkey Papers (Sir Nathaniel Bacon), 1590–1620. Edited by F. W. Brooks, M.A. (*See* No. 26.)

53. Robert Loder's Farm Journal, 1610–1620. Edited by G. E. Fussell. (*In the press.*)

British Diplomatic Representatives, 1509–1688. Edited by J. F. Chance, M.A., and R. B. Wernham, M.A., assisted by S. T. Bindoff, M.A., Miss D. M. Brodie, Ph.D., and F. J. Weaver, M.A. (*In the press*). (*See* Nos. 46 and 50.)

General and Provincial Chapters of the English Black Monks. Edited by W. A. Pantin, M.A., Ph.D., F.S.A. Vol. III (1215–1540). (*In the press.*) (*See* Nos. 45 and 47.)

Gervase Holles' Memoirs of the Holles Family, 1520–1642. Edited by A. C. Wood, M.A., B.Litt., D.Phil. (*In preparation.*)

The Liber Pilosus of St. Paul's Cathedral (Part I). Edited by Miss Marion Gibbs, with a Preface by Professor F. M. Stenton, M.A., F.B.A. (*In preparation.*)

John of Gaunt's Register (1372). Vol. III. Edited by the late Miss Eleanor Lodge, C.B.E., D.Litt., Litt.D., and R. Somerville, M.A. (*In preparation.*) (*See* Nos. 20 and 21.)

John of Gaunt's Register, Vol. IV. (*In preparation.*) (*See* Nos. 20 and 21.)

The Proceedings under the Dictum de Kenilworth. Edited by Professor F. M. Powicke, M.A., Litt.D., F.B.A., and M. Tyson, M.A., Ph.D. (*In preparation.*)

The Correspondence of Princess Lieven with the Earl of Aberdeen, 1832–1844. Edited by E. Jones Parry, M.A., Ph.D. Vol. I. (*In preparation.*)

The Correspondence of Princess Lieven, 1845–1854. (*In preparation.*)

4. MISCELLANEOUS PUBLICATIONS OF THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY: NEW SERIES.

1. Guide to British Commercial and Shipping Statistics, 1696–1782. Edited by Professor G. N. Clark, M.A. (*In preparation.*)
2. Handbook of British Chronology. Edited by Professor F. M. Powicke, M.A., Litt.D., F.B.A. (*In preparation.*)
3. Handbook of British Currency. Edited by A. E. Feaveryear, D.Sc. (*In preparation.*)
4. List and Index of Parliamentary Papers, 1700–1800. (*In preparation.*)

The order of publication for Volumes in the press or in preparation is provisional.

BIBL.
LONDIN.
UNIV.

SHL
WITHDRAWN